

Ross Dowson archives – Correspondence -- YEAR 1958

- 01_16 Letter to *The Militant* (SWP-US), Comrade Dan (Roberts?): re: death of Laura Grey; Diego Rivera obit.
- 02_10 +P.C. Minutes: planning for national tour to start early this year; pan-Canadian Convention in BC in August, elect delegate to FI-WC this June
- 02_15 Letter to Comrade Bates, Cowichan Station BC inviting comments on the recent by-election campaign
- 02_15B Letter to Alan Reidpath, Rexton NB re: considering running in the next federal election
- 02_15C Letter to Comrade Mrs. Van Horne, Coombs BC, on the youth movement and youth press
- 02_16 Letter to G.S. Sheehan, Mount Dennis ON to a new reader
- 02_18 Letter to the Unitarian Church, Toronto from the S.E.L. re: Unitarians in Winnipeg with petition against H-Bomb tests; need for the same in Ontario of SEL to run a candidate against CCF.
- 03-01 Minutes of special PC meeting re: SEL federal candidate; Jennings abstains
- 03_03 +Minutes of PC: Kent proposes we contest one federal Toronto riding (defeated); discussion we attend regroupment forum in Montreal, Tour to depart in May
- 03_13 +Letter to Reg (Bullock, Vancouver): No response from Gagnon group re upcoming Forum; election leaflet distribution going strong, selling subscriptions, no news from BC
- 03_31 Letter to Milton Acorn (Montreal poet is new subscriber)
- 03_31B Letter to Comrade (comrades in Montreal?) with samples of paper and literature list.
- 04_15 +PC meeting minutes: Tour personnel selected; report on Montreal regroupment Forum which Stalinists want broader than socialist; Kent will propose publication of contributions; negotiations for an all-inclusive May Day celebration stalled
- 04_23 Letter to Bunny (Batten) in Montreal re: start of Ontario tour;,

regroupment; Vancouver and the press

- 04_26 +Letter to Reg (Bullock, Vancouver): thanks for the cartoons; the election campaign effort; report of CLC convention discussion on new party; prospects for a united May Day in BC; Stalinist groups veto regroupment and a united May Day; Unitarians join in Ban the Bomb demos in Toronto; need Paddy to start work on a history of the Canadian left
- 04_99 (Undated letter, page 1 missing; found in 1958, April) SEL Invited to participate in the Montreal Forum; H-bomb protests; Toronto area projects
- 05_09 Document: "R. Dowson, Socialist Educational League" in a pamphlet **"Canadian democracy and the struggle for socialism:"** a report of the second meeting of the Montreal Socialist Forum
- 05_30 Letter to Bunny (Batten) in Montreal re: trip to France off, possibilities in Montreal, regroupment at dead end in Toronto; *Workers Vanguard* tour
- 05_30B Letter to Bill White, Y.T. with news of Ontario tour, regroupment prospects; his role in Mine-Mill
- 06_00 +(Undated, summer -- ref. CCF convention in August. Notes marked "signed by Ross" CLC-PAC proposal for a new party challenges socialists and CCFers; we are for CCFers to call for a federated labor party
- 06_05 Letter to Dan (SWP) *Militant* re their article on the CLC and political action with enclosed letter to clear up misunderstanding
- 06_09 Letter Joe (-- ?) re Toronto branch
- 06_15 Letter Bruce (Batten) in Montreal re: regroupment and negative role of (Henri) Gagnon, publication stalled
- 07_01 Letter Wally, Montreal (2 pp.) Money matters, Ontario tour, Montreal matters
- 07_05 Letter to I.S.R. (SWP) Joe (Hansen) re sales of the magazine
- 7_12 ++(LBedard archive) Letter to "Dear Gang" to the Vanguard Tour; list of literature shipments to Northwest Ontario & Winnipeg, policy discussions at Toronto; labor movement moves towards the New Party; next Tour stops and contacts
- 07_12B Letter to Jerry (Houle) re difficult intra-personal relations and personnel questions
- 08_13 Document: **"Our immediate task"** by Ross Dowson (decline of CCF, use

- of our press, work in Montreal, in Toronto, in Vancouver, CCF work and remaining perspectives of regroupment
- 10_15 Circular letter Comrades re completion of national tour, subs sold, upcoming financial drive, from Ross Dowson for the NC
- 11_00 +(Nov. no date--early) Minutes of PC Meeting: British FI leader to visit Toronto, Gagnon agrees to mimeo account of meeting; Buck attacks our movement, Tate Case civil rights
- 11_02 Letter to Gerry (McKinney, Brandon MB): RD on tour through town; local contacts to see; good Winnipeg contacts also
- 11_03 Letter Henri Gagnon (1-1/4 pp) re national tour, attack on Trotskyists by Tim Buck, regroupment in Vancouver, proposal for a small magazine
- 11_04 Letter to Coleridge, Jerry and Mrs. Phillips, Winnipeg, by RD on return from tour; Ernie (Tate) arrested by Toronto police; Buck attacks Trotskyism; introducing Gerry MacKinney & local movement possibilities
- 11_07 Letter to Phil Hiebert, Saskatoon, re big attack by CPC leader Buck on Trotskyist 'revisionism,' and our fund drive.
- 11_09 Letter to George Beckford, Winnipeg, tour returned and Ernie Tate arrested on "vagrancy" charge
- 11_10 Letter to Comrade Daniel Guerin re interest of black unionist in Winnipeg in obtaining copies of his books
- 12_08 S.E.L. Tour Report: over 1700 subs sold over 5 months across Canada; SWP runs socialist slate in the US; the aims of the regroupment campaign, written by J.H., A.H., P.B., E.T.
- 12_09 Letter to Bill (Yukon), busy with Toronto SEL election campaign; meeting with Healey from GB; the INCO strike
- 12_15 Letter to Barry and Shirley, with a request for some dough.
- 12_30 Letter to Milton Acorn, Montreal re: his submitted poems, problem of publishing them
- 12_31 Article, Winter 1958 *International Socialist Review* (SWP, USA)
"Canadian Stalinism in shambles" by Ross Dowson
- 12_99 Letter to editor, *Toronto Evening Telegram*, correcting Premier Frost's

claim no municipal candidates advocated public ownership of Consumers'
Gas Company; attached election leaflet

January 16, 1958

The Militant

Dear Comrade ~~Ed~~ Dan

Roberts? (SWP)

We were shocked to hear that Laura Grey has died. A terrible loss to the American working class—and to the Militant. For sometime now I have intended to ~~write you~~ suggest to you that you consider the publication of a selection of her cartoons in pamphlet form. I am sure were you to take the first steps that we would be in a position to help finance such a project. What more fitting memorial could we devise. We are looking forward to hearing from you on this suggestion

There is another matter that I would like to bring to your attention. I have an impression ~~now~~ which might be wrong that you have difficulty getting current newspaper photos for the paper. If this is so what do you think of our getting them for you from this end. The Toronto Star runs a matrix service for small papers here at what seems to me to be a reasonable charge. Each day they send to us a sheet which reproduces a selection of some 10 photos to choose from. For this service we pay only mail ~~charges~~ costs. All we have to do is phone them which on a we want and they will send us matrix for them. Their charge is for 2 columns \$1.50 for three columns \$1.75. I have torn out several samples to give you an idea what is available. If this interests you let us know and we can ~~correspond~~ further as to how we can arrange this.

In the last issue of the Vanguard I wrote up an article on Diego Rivera. I think you might consider utilizing it—you did handle something on Brecht—and Rivera is much more important—after all he was one of us. I hope that I did justice to him. I felt it necessary to weave in quite a bit of news material as there is a whole generation of revolutionaries who do not know of his work. The next upsurge will see him take his place again.

fraternally

Rods Dowson

P.C. Minutes February 10, 1958

Present--Kent, Timber, Langley

Motion--that the secretary prepare a report for the next meeting on the national tour of two years ago in preparation for the arrangements of a tour this year. Discussion as to date of tour pushing off from Toronto--general opinion that it should start much earlier than the end of June--possibly around May 15th. Informal discussion of personnel for tour. It was suggested that should there be difficulty obtaining suitable personnel from Toronto that we consider suggesting that a Vancouver comrade come East to go out with the tour with comrade Kent filling his place on the return trip. ~~It was suggested that~~ It was suggested that tour start off with a short run in Eastern Ontario.

Motion that we hold a regularly constituted national convention of the Canadian section around mid-August in the city of Vancouver...the exact date to be set in consultation with Vancouver taking into account the arrival of the tour in that city. Motion that at the next meeting we discuss documentation for the convention.

Report by Timber on Southern rally-- secretary instructed to find out if we can obtain copies of LT's works in German for our German comrades.

Motion that we make preparations and arrangements to send a delegate to the coming world gathering --of this June. Motion that we have a preliminary discussion of the one document submitted for adoption by the world gathering at next PC meeting. Motion that secretary enquire if south is making this available in sufficient copies for general discussion.

Feb 15, 1958

E.H. Bates
R R # 1
Cowichan Station
B.C.

Dear Comrade Bates;

Certainly glad to receive your short note and renewal to the paper. I have intended to write to you for sometime however your note in the file compells me to do so and no longer let anything put it off

Glad you like the paper. It will indsed be a dull day when we all see eye to eye on everything that is in it. As editor I must confess there are many things that go into the paper which I feel could be much improved. It is indeed possible that there are many important matters that we are failing to touch upon. Some matters we do deal with are no doubt not properly approached from the level of development and experience of our readers or people we want to read the paper.

In fact I am looking to fellows like you to give us an honest and critical opinion of the paper—detailed—so that we can make it play an ever more effective a role. I would appreciate it very much if ~~Samuelson~~ you would take time out to detail certain aspects of your opinion. I do not mean it for publication unless you wish it so, but for our own and my own edification. This is probably one of the most serious weaknesses of the revolutionary socialist press—its lack of contact and correspondents from the field, from the job itself.

For instance I would like very much to know what your thoughts are on the issue which we used to present an election program to the people of Hastings-Prattville and to the working people of Canada generally. By and large of course the Vanguard is addressed to the more advanced workers in Canada. It desires to defend socialist thought against the Coldwells and Stalinists and to serve as an instrument of regroupment of the left. But with that issue and the election campaign as a whole we had an opportunity to address the workers of Canada on the most immediate issues of the day—to present the socialist program in an immediate way, apply it, develop demands that would develop and heighten the class understanding of the workers, to lead them forward in their thinking in the direction of a socialist society. What did you think of the programmatic demands in the box opposite my photo? ~~Of course~~ see Bryden and Coldwell thought it a very effective program—in fact Bryden told the electorate that it was good but you had to read the Vanguard over a number of issues to see the evil that he charged it contains. Of course it is far different than the program that Coldwell is going to the electorate with—just a series of patches for capitalism instead of demands leading to socialism.

And how did you like the ~~text~~next issue which contained Bryden and Coldwell's letters and our statement on the campaign, what the SEL is etc. I tell you if it wasn't for the activities of the SEL and now a youth movement that we are trying to help along there would be no socialist work being done in the Toronto area. The CCF clubs are extremely inactive. Right now the leadership is trying to pull them together to get them to do the necessary job work of an election. But the cadre is being destroyed. In fact things appear to be so bad from the point of view of getting people to work in the campaigns that Bill Sefton who is running in York South (formerly held by Joe Noseworthy) went out of his way to ask Paddy and a friend of our, Doug Carr who wrote a letter in the January issue, to come out and help him. If they can get any seat this is one of them yet Sefton asked Paddy and Carr whose views of course he well knows. He approached Paddy after his speech at the unemployed meeting reported in the latest issue of the Vanguard.

Incidentally this youth group which we are helping to build on a very broad all inclusive basis is coming along very well. They had Salsberg down to address them last night.

What is happenning in your neck of the woods these days..in the CCF, in the IWA I believe that there was a Pulp and Sulphite local ~~xxxxxxx~~ near you .

Do you get the International Socialist Review? I am sending along a short list of some books and pamphlets that we have on hand that might will be of interest to you.

Looking forward to hearing from you.

Fraternally

Ross Dowson

Feb 15, 1958

Alan Reidpath
Rexton, N.E.

Dear Mr Reidpath

It was indeed a pleasure to receive your letter of some time back and then your letter of last month which enclosed a subscription to our paper. I intended to write you long ago but many details of our work have intervened. We are very busy aside from putting out our small paper—with our weekly forums and round tables, with our election in Hastings-Frontenac, etc., etc.

Right now we are discussing the question as to whether we should run an candidate in the coming federal election. After all Mr Coldwell and the CCF will not be advancing the socialist alternative to the industrial workers and working farmers. On the key question of Canada's role in international affairs CCF candidates will appear no different from the Liberals and Tories—their domestic policy is a modest collective of reforms and in fact it would appear that in the face of the Liberal and Tory promises Mr Coldwell is going to try to appear as the same and modest legislator. Instead of saying yes—taxes can be cut and there can be increased social legislation—BY TAXING THE RICH, and BY CUTTING SO/CALLED DEFENCE EXPENDITURES—he appears to be readying himself to attack the Liberals and Tories as being irresponsible. Then again the CCF will be contesting every seat in the Toronto area so we would be required to run what would appear to be a campaign against ~~them~~ a movement that is no matter all our criticism a progressive break from the capitalist parties. I see the LPP is running five candidates in the Toronto area—a drop from the many they have traditionally run, particularly against the CCF and the leftists among the CCF candidates—but they have always taken a sectarian attitude to the CCF.

Yes, unity of all socialists as you suggest would be a good thing. Our co-thinkers in the US are proposing such a unity of action to the left for the coming elections there. The only question is of course—on what basis should it take place so that it should serve a useful purpose. The CP there are of course for unity—but unity behind the Democrats. Such a unity doesn't serve the cause of social progress but on the contrary is a barrier in the way. A few years back I presented my application for membership in the CCF—they were prepared to accept it on one condition—that I repudiate my ideas in a public statement. I argued that I should be accepted on the basis of my general agreements with the aims and objectives of the movement—which if at any time I should prove disloyal to could be dealt with by charges, etc. Subsequently Coldwell and company expelled a whole group of leftists from the party. They don't want unity with socialist, although perhaps with Liberals—they want acquiescence

As for the LPP. The entire leadership of this party has in the past year and a half written off this party as an instrument for Canadian socialism--From Gui Caron, Harry Binder, Salsberg, Smith Sims, Penner--that there would seem to me to be little doubt about the matter. Who should know better than they. I suppose you noted the article in the last Vanguard dealing with their latest apologetic on Soviet anti-semitism.

It would be very good if the left--the thousands who have walked away from the CCF because of its rightward course over the past years--and the thousands who have walked out of the LPP since the Khrushchev revelations--could get together. We have been attempting as best we can with the forces at our disposal to realize such a process. I have dropped into see Salsberg several times in an attempt to encourage him to move out for as far as the ex-Lppers are concerned he is key. He is very friendly, polite, interested, but has not made a move. He did speak last week at a socialist youth group which we and some others are helping along but no more so far

So far, at this stage this unity has been taking place but on a higher and of course almost miniscule plain in the ranks of the SEL. But as you suggest a lot of the old factional barriers are being torn down and there is a greater breadth of discussion than there has been for many many years. In my opinion this has primarily come about due to the crisis in the LPP--they can't carry that fascist mad dog slander ~~maymington~~ agent of George Drew slander any longer--they have been terribly cut down in size and are having to defend their views in a critical atmosphere.

It would seem to me that to realize the unity of socialists on a broad and effective scale will need a whole series of experiences developing in a period of broad social conflict --when great masses are in conflict and testing ideas and programs and leaders. In the meantime the best we can hope to develop and maintain and atmosphere where there can be a free exchange of ideas between the various groups that now exist.

What are my hopes affirmation and associations? Of course to help develop the above atmosphere, to build that movement that on the basis of my experiences has the most correct ideas. I have not thought of the Canadian Forum as having much possibilities for sometime---I have had the impression that it has been steadily becoming more esoteric, more literary. Unfortunately there is no general vehicle of left expression in this country outside of the Vanguard. We have offered to publish anything that Salsberg Sims and company would care to write. I have had the odd letter to the editor in the Sask Commonwealth. The editor Mr Hansen has a very broad and tolerant approach. The other CCF papers are just house organs for the Coldwell leadership but the Commonwealth regularly carries William Irvine's column--he often has something worthwhile to say,

I am taking the liberty of mailing under separate cover a copy of a magazine called International Socialist Review which I find myself in general agreement with. ~~Now~~ I am sure you will find it stimulating reading--should you wish to keep it drop me the costs in stamps.

Certainly looking forward to seeing you again should you come our way. As things stand it is highly doubtful that I should turn up in Rexton--I have never been further East than Quebec.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

Feb 15, 1958

Mrs W. Van Horne
Box 15
Coombs

Dear Comrade;

It was certainly good to receive your short note the other day. Of course I wish it was longer and that you had taken the trouble to let us know how you are, what you are doing, what is happening generally in the Coombs area, what you are thinking about the many important and interesting events that are taking place.

I remember our short meeting with a great warmth ~~and~~ Yes of course we will continue to send the bundle. We need the money but even more we need the excellent work you are doing with the paper.

Now as to your comments on the needs of the youth being reflected in the paper. Your arguments are almost unchallengeable and fortunately things have come to pass that we need hardly even attempt to challenge them. Under separate cover I have mailed to you three different issues of a new youth paper being published from New York in my own opinion the first issues are not as youthful in their approach as they should be but with each issue it has been improving and now we have a real socialist youth paper. ~~Send~~ Turn them over to our young friends in the Coombs area and see what they think of them. It is their paper. You will note that with the last issue they have struck off a Canadian editor associate ~~editor~~ on the editorial board. He would be truly happy to hear from any of the youth in the Coombs area. His name is Bruce Strong and he lives at --- I see I ~~am~~ am not sure of his address right now but ~~may~~ could write him in care of me here at the Vanguard address and I will see that he gets their letter.

Strong and a group of other young people are in the process of building what promises to be a really effective socialist youth group. They have just completed a series of forums and had an average attendance of about 28 youth. This is very good as the Labor Progressive Party's youth group is in shambles and outside of Saskatchewan group there is no CCF youth group. Here in Toronto the adult leadership destroyed what promised to be a good CCF youth group. They moved in and expelled the left--the best elements. Of course the youth are always the left--and therefore always feared by the right wing leadership of the adult movements. Imagine the Labor League of Youth in England is not permitted to discuss and pass political resolutions. This youth group, while we are giving them what help they want and need is entirely independent of any adult political movement--independent as socialists free to think and find their own way. I am sure they would really be inspired to hear from the young people you know out there---they could do with the encouragement.

~~Stewart~~ I am sure you will agree that this is the best possible solution of the very valid point that you raise--that the socialist youth not be limited to an article or so--a column or so but have a paper of their own to write what they want.

Thanks very much for your good wishes to the paper. We think that we are doing fairly well when you take into consideration the times--and that we are going to do much better. We made many friends on the tour, picked up many subs and have managed to keep them too. The Socialist Educational League here in Toronto is coming along fine--growing slowly but steadily. If it were not for its activities in the Toronto area the voice of socialism would not be heard these days. The CCF clubs are leading a most enfeebled existence with the leadership only now as we approach an election trying to activate them--so that they can do the Joe work. The Winnipeg Manifesto and the whole continued right wing course of the leadership has taken the guts out of the clubs--there is no political life so how can the clubs sustain themselves.

How did you like our campaign in Hastings-Frontenac? Coldwell and Brydens participation was quite cowardly don't you think? It was a good experience taking the real socialist message on international affairs to the electorate of such a riding.

What is new in Coombs? Is the club still functioning? Are you fielding a candidate in the coming election. I am hoping that it is you--short of the fancy clothes to carry a front and all. And if not you some persons who have been influenced by your views. I would certainly be pleased to hear from you at greater length on developments in the BC CCF, the thinking of BC socialists and so forth.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

Feb 16, 1958

G. S. Sheehan
5 Seneca Ave
Mount Dennis, Ont.

Dear Friend;

We were pleased to receive your letter of a couple of weeks ago. We will be publishing it over the name Sideliner in our next issue.

Hope you like the paper. I see you live a little way from the center of the city. I used to live on Guestville Avenue myself, but I hope you can make it down to the store here at 569 Yonge Street sometime in the near future. The Vanguard office is behind THE DROMPTO LABOR BOOKSTORE just around the corner from the Wellesley Street subway station. You will find the bookstore well worth visiting. We have an excellent stock of literature on the labor and socialist movement....newspapers and periodicals. The store is open everyday from 11 until 6 o'clock in the evening. On Fridays and Saturdays it is open until 10 o'clock at night.

Downstairs from the bookstore we have a hall where forums and round table discussions are held every Sunday night....I am sure you will find the great majority of the topics of real interest to you. Looking forward to seeing you.

It is good to read a real class approach these days. I see you do not agree with Mr Caldwell's statement to the 1950 national convention of the party that the class struggle is dead.

fraternally

Ross Dawson

THE SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE
569 Yonge Street
Toronto

February 18, 1958

THE UNITARIAN CHURCH
175 St Clair Ave. West.
Toronto

Attention ;Mr W.P. Perkins

No doubt you are aware that the Unitarian Church in the city of Winnipeg has drawn up a petition protesting further H Bomb tests by all world powers and is seeking the support of interested Canadians to urge that the Canadian government use its powers, influence and good-will to stop further tests.

We are very much interested in this petition. With preparations underway for further tests in the South Pacific we feel that it is an urgent matter that should be taken to the Canadian people on as broad a basis as possible. With the election of a new government underway it would seem all the more desirable that something be done in its support in the Toronto area right away.

We are wondering if your church, or if not, some church body, individuals or groups of individuals are contemplating any activity in support of the petition.

We would be pleased either as an organization or as individuals to participate in any activity behind the petition and would appreciate hearing from you just as soon as possible on this matter.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

Chairman White

After a discussion of over two ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ hours ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

The following question was put

Motion to Political committee:

The Toronto section of the SEL run a candidate in the coming federal election in the Metro-Toronto area ~~in~~ in an area where the CCF is running. This candidate should not run in a constituency where the role of his running would or can be construed as defeating a CCF candidate. (against a CCF token candidate).

Vote was as follows; (18 in attendance)

- 12 For
- 2 Against
- 1 Qualified Abstention
- 2 Abstentions

Motion that Scot be elected to lead education on the LPP program on Sunday March 9 was carried

*I am abstaining with the qualification
"Though I support the arguments favoring
the running of a candidate I am not
prepared to so vote until more clarity is
reached on exactly how to frame the question
for the understanding of the class militants"*



Minutes of PC March 5, 1958

Present--Kent, Timber, Larley

Minutes of previous meeting read and adopted

Toronto--Federal election- Kent presented motion that we contest one riding in the Toronto area. Report on correspondence from West Coast. Vote recorded four against ~~Thorne~~ Thorne, Graham, Langley, Lewis. Two for-Kent and Timber. Motion that the Toronto branch which has been discussing this matter be informed that the National Committee is opposed to our running under the present circumstances. agreed unanim-
Montreal-Motion that comrade Kent ~~attend the Montreal regroupment forum~~ and possibly comrade Strong attend the Montreal regroupment forum and that we investigate the possibility of taking a car load of comrades the ~~xxxx~~ four hundred miles--agreed. Discussion on our general conduct there. It was agreed that we attempt to get Gagnon to come to Toronto--the expulsion of the Quebec section of the LPP has now been publicised in the LPP press and Gagnon's presence here would stimulate the Salsberg group into action--we would try to get Salsberg-Gagnon and ourselves on a common platform to launch the regroupment processes off here with a bang. Discussion on the tremendous possibilities that appear to be opening up there for us. Discussion on the need to colonize this city with one or two developed comrades. Gagnon appeared disappointed when we informed him we had no one in Montreal so it would appear that he would welcome such an action on our part. Discussion on the possibility of comrades Paul and George and comrades Langley and Wein going to Montreal.

Tour- Motion that we purchase a truck, not panel, right away--agreed. That we immediately prepare the line-up of personnel to go on national tour--agreed. Preliminary discussion. Motion that comrades Adair and Paul be assigned this work and that Kent discuss the tour with certain other comrades--agreed. Agreed that we attempt to leave by May 15th which will allow about a three week run in the London, Kitchener, Windsor, Sarnia areas. This would bring the tour into Vancouver about the second week in August. It was ~~suggested~~ suggested that we arrange the national convention in Vancouver the third week in August--however it was agreed that we have further discussion on this Convention- The exact date still pending. but suggested third week in August. Motion that we encourage Toronto comrades to ~~make arrangements~~ make arrangements to attend assuring a representative gathering.--agreed. Preliminary discussion on documentation. It was felt that we need a document on THE CCF AND THE REGROUPMENT; a Political Resolution; as a minimum

March 13, 1958

Dear Reg;

Have a few moments before leaving for Montreal this afternoon. Won't be back until Monday morning as we not only intend to go to the buffet affair arranged by the Gagnon group but to see other persons we know when there to try to make the trip even more profitable. The Gagnon situation has no new aspects---he has not replied to my letter of Monday or Tuesday suggesting we try to arrange a meeting here in Toronto and try to get Salsberg to participate--along with Pistell. But this is not suprising as no doubt they are busy in their election work.

Last night we took a bite into the leaflets--distributed all we had--about 3,000. One bad typo in it--bad politically--in the peace article overleaf about 6 lines from the bottom where we appear to contradict ourselves that the USSR economy needs war--and then go really mixed up. But that has been corrected. We are really going to do a job of canvassing. I am hoping that we pick up well over 100 or so subs and turn up with a dozen odd contacts. Our committee rooms are first rate. We do not think the CCF even has one in the riding. They are carrying a miserable campaign down here. A friend of ours--we lost contact with her over the last year--phoned in to say that she is working in High Park--and only she and Temple are really doing anything yet. It would appear doubtful if they will even distribute a leaflet in St Pauls.

However--- I would like to know what you think of our first sheet. As soon as I return from Montreal we will be getting onto the other sheet. We have many ideas but probably you have some we could well use. We are going to do a job on HRES strikebreaker and scabharder (the leaflet was a hurry job so we could be more effective in the canvassing this coming week when we don't have the second leaflet.) We are thinking of having an interview with the candidate--answering such questions as socialism will lead to totalitarianism--the CCF has compromised socialist ideas how do we know you won't, etc. etc. We are also planning to do a job on the liberals on a simple plain of showing how all the past ministers have made the quick switch from LIBERAL to CAPITALIST. In other words it is going to deal with more immediate aspects of the campaign in a more popular way than the first one. By the way we have not heard from anyone out there since the hurried telegram--we haven't heard who is the independent socialist candidate out there. I never saw the press report but others say they did.

Will write on the Gagnon experience as soon as possible after returning

Warmest regards

Ross

March 31, 1956

Milton Acorn
2031 Sanguinet Street
Montreal, P.Q.

Dear Comrade Acorn;

Yes, the Vanguard certainly is a regular paper and we would be more than pleased to enter a subscription in your name. The sub rate is 50 cents a year; the paper comes out once a month. We are hoping that by this Fall we will be able to put out a twice monthly. We have been publishing the Vanguard now for some two years. Our circulation is national, and while not large, on the whole, considering the times, I think quite good. On the basis of the promises that the meeting arranged by the Council of Socialist Clubs in your city has for the entire left in Canada this does not seem to be an unreasonable expectation.

Under separate cover I am sending you copies of the last two issues along with the second election leaflet that you probably have not seen. I am also enclosing a couple of supplements that we published over the past year. One with the translation of the rebel radio during the Hungarian uprising which throws considerable insight on the nature of that struggle, another reporting the experiences of a young English communist during his visit to the USSR ~~during~~ at the time of the youth festival and another dealing with our electoral experience in Hastings-Frontenac last Fall. Should you like some extra copies of these supplements for passing around I would be pleased to mail you some.

We are anticipating your comments on our election leaflets. We think that they are an effective and meaningful application of the Marxist view of the issues confronting the Canadian working class today.

Your letter to the Tribune is not dated. I see that so far it has not been published. Should it not appear in the next issue dated March 31 have we your permission to publish it? We think it a valuable letter and would be pleased to carry it in our April issue—which will be a little late because of our desire to cover the federal election results.

We are all very busy up here right now—today saw the wind-up of our campaign and the next few days we will be trying to take up many matters that the campaign compelled us to shove aside. Tomorrow must get after Saltsberg to see what he thinks of our proposal to hold a united May Day Meeting—and Gagnon for the transcript of the Montreal rally which we would like to report in detail in our April issue.

But looking forward to hearing from you

fraternally

Ross Dowson

569 Yonge Street
Toronto, Ont.
March 31, 1958

Dear Comrade;

You will remember me---we met at Henri Gagnon's and you asked me to send you some reading material.

Under separate cover I am sending you some assorted material.

First and foremost of course is our election material---just as Henri ran in St Jacques---we ran in Broadview here in Toronto. A solid working class area. A Very good campaign. We put out two leaflets and the total distribution was 48,000 copies. Some job as you can imagine. But it was inspiring to see the various members of the Socialist Educational League and their friends get behind the campaign. We did a lot of canvassing door to door talking with workers in the area. The response we got was very good---if we had only more time to get in and around the riding. The Tory machine is really powerful but I think our ideas are more so. I hope that you will take out time from your many chores to study over our program and then let us know what you think of it. I myself think that it is a real fighting socialist program.

Now as to the various items that I am sending you. You are welcome to the copies of the NEWSLETTER and to the copies of Workers Vanguard along with the special supplements---including the one on the Hungarian struggle, on the situation in the USSR and our experiences in Hastings-Frontenac. I hope you will find the Vanguard well worth your while to subscribe to. The price is very small---50 cents a year (12 issues). I am also sending you our American paper---a copy of the Militant. This issue is of particular interest because it contains what I think is an excellent speech by James P. Cannon. You are also welcome to the sample copy of International Socialist Review. My own opinion is that these are all worth subscribing to.

As for the rest of the material---I hope that you and the comrades up there can club together and pay for them. As you can imagine we are not very well off ourselves.

Hungarian Tragedy-by Fryer---	1.25
What Really Happened-	.20
Saleberg in Jewish Question	.25
Basis of Regroupment	.10
America's Road	.35
Labor Review-	.40

2.55

I hope that that is not too much for you comrades up there. And I hope that you can afford to subscribe to the Vanguard at 50 cents a year. There are a great many books and pamphlets here that I am sure you will find of interest. I am sending you a somewhat limited catalogue

I am really looking forward to a good vote for Henri and Comrade Rouleau. We will know tonight. I must close off now as I must write Henri for all the material on our inspiring meeting there in Montreal. We want to publish some of the speeches in the next issue of the Vanguard. Besides there are many matters that the election has pushed aside that must be taken up again. Write me by all means---I am looking forward to hearing from you and the comrades up there.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

PC meeting April 15, 1958

Present--Kent, Langley, T. Yer

Tour-- Six Toronto comrades have put forward their names to go on the national tour.

Also proposition that it might be possible that a Vancouver comrade join tour, should it be short staffed, at Winnipeg to stay with it until it hit BC. Entire personnel of Toronto examined. Proposition re Vancouver comrade scrapped as Alberta a dud and it is BC and Ontario that are the important areas. Motion that comrades Adair, Paul, Cameron and Pryce take the tour--unanimous agreement. Motion that we attempt to commence tour first week in May--with two or more weeks in Southern Ontario--agreed.

Discussion on federal elections--Kent read correspondence to West Coast NC members proposing that we drop slogan calling for OCF governments from masthead and revert to a more generalized slogan--no elections for some period, looks like labor political action will take another course, regroupment of socialists the big issue. ~~Saxx~~ First part of the report of a conference held by West Coast comrades dealing with this matter read. It would seem that they are generally agreed. Discussion. Kent--motion that we drop the present slogan but at this time we do not replace it with any other slogan. It was generally agreed that we are not required to carry one, that the new one should probably be related to our regroupment work but that we can leave this matter until after the CLC convention in the last week of April and further discussion. agreed unanimously.

Montreal--Comrade Langley reported that he would be in a position to leave in order to live in Montreal by next weekend--Discussion on the financing of his colonialisation. Lengthy discussion on how we should conduct ourselves with relation to the Council of Socialist Clubs and the Socialist Forum and the parious persons around them. It was agreed that Kent write Gagnon a letter introducing Langley and suggesting he be co-opted to Forum executive. It was reported that two new subs have come in from Montreal and that a prominent activist in the Council is in political correspondence with us now. The Forum ~~executive~~ minutes with a covering note from Gagnon has been received--very friendly but Gagnon in passing identifies himself with Salsberg on not regroupment of socialists but of the broadest type. It would appear that they may be having some success in attracting non socialist groupings. Motion that Kent suggest that the next forum dealing with the subject Socialism and Democracy, that the four or five persons to be asked to contribute to it be asked to submit their contributions in ~~writing~~ writing so that they can be published in pamphlet form and as soon as possible. That Kent inform Gagnon that we will assume responsibility for the publication of such a pamphlet. It was agreed that this pamphlet would be extremely useful on the national tour and that if they agree we could have it off the presses in all probability by the time the tour headed north.

Toronto--Discussion on the refusal of the Salsberg group to promote with us an all in meeting. May Day was suggested. Since it is probable that no union would participate they do not see much in it aside from the SED and themselves which would appear to us to be a big question mark. The suggestion that we collaborate in the publication of something along the line of Questions of the Left was also turned down for they think that there would only be ourselves and themselves involved. It would appear that these people do not have the conviction that we thought they had with the Montreal developments. Salsberg has received no material from them--Gagnon made some caustic comments about Binder and that they were not going to dilly-dally around until such as he decided to move out. The Salsberg group does not have any common agreement on what is to be done--it would appear that Salsberg himself is the most interested but even he is not willing to step out without some kind of broad support. Salsberg affirmed the information that we had that Sims has been talking about setting up a new party and had wanted to contest the Trinity riding against Buck. Kent reported that he had contacted Sims with the May Day proposition but got nothing further from him than that he would seriously discuss this with the others. Agreed that he should further attempt to establish effective contact with Sims. It was agreed that we do not go ahead with just our own resources and the one or two connections we have with a ~~Magnum~~ conference for an all-in May Day.

April 23, 1958

Dear Bunny,

It is a quarter to five. A bunch of the boys are down here, Charlie, Bud, Pat, Fred, and Bryan and Joe have just left for work. Just the right kind of atmosphere to drop you a line—not answer your last letter but small talk you about what is going on.

Right now Fred is working the information on the sub cards into the black book for the tour. Everything is getting under way on this project. Peter Hugh and Harry were here last night making the final measurements for the material with which to erect our superstructure on the truck. The truck set us back \$375 but it appears to be a good one. We will start the carpentry on Friday—Ward is going to give us a hand. Cameron, Adair, Cummings, and Paul are taking the tour. We hope to shove off early in May so that they can have a good and profitable trial run in Kitchener, Sarnia, Windsor before heading north.

Bruce is now in the big city. He left full of enthusiasm—~~amazing~~ despite Mitchell and his predictions of despair—and properly so. It is the most promising situation we have ever had in our history in my opinion. See the letter from a Milton Acsen in the enclosed issue. He has sent us a couple of other letters—very friendly disagrees on Hungary. Another sub came in the other day from a Chinese fellow in Montreal. Jerry was down there on his railway tour and dropped in on an executive meeting of the Council of Socialist clubs which continued on into a meeting of the Socialist Forum continuations committee. Another fellow pushed a fifty cent piece over to him for a sub. He said that the student element there really grabbed at the paper. Jerry was very welcome—of course there were a few wisecracks about getting rid of the old ideas including of course that old Trotskyism. But a young fellow who I first met a year ago when there and who impressed me favorably at that time and who at the last forum gave a sub to Harry—told Jerry that he thought that the Militant was a very good paper. We sent all the ~~welcome~~ persons we thought worthwhile a copy of the Militant with Cannon's speech at the Cannon-Hallinan meeting in Frisco.

All your furniture is down there. It appears that Bruce was not able to get just what he wanted so he has it in a good dry garage he rented and he will get something around the first of May moving day—a good idea as he does not know where he is to work and he can get something close by. Montreal is terribly spread out. Jimmy drove the Herts truck down loaded to the top. Our little truck wouldn't carry all your accumulated goods. It all got there in good condition. He has a little black book which I spent about a day recording all I know about everyone I know in Montreal. He has a pile of literature including about 250 copies of the last issue which should be a big hit with the forum crowd. The forum is going forward as we report in this issue. I have written Gagnon a letter introducing Bruce to him. I have told Haddow that Bruce is there also. We have been invited to the next forum to speak on the excellent subject Socialism and Democracy. I have suggested to Gagnon that we have written submissions of the speeches to be delivered with the view of their publication in a pamphlet. I have told him we will take over responsibility for the publication of the pamphlet. It is just what we want for the tour isn't it. I have suggested that in view of our desire to put them out as a pamphlet it would be good to have these speeches by names known to some degree in the Cdn labor and socialist movement. I do not know whether I will be able to attend but I would propose that I make the SHL submission but we have Bruce read it. I have suggested that they get Salsberg even though we have so far failed to get them moving.

Jerry says that while he was there it came up that Salsberg, Smith, Lipshitz and some others are coming down as a group to Montreal on May 24th. I wonder what they are up to. It is hard to believe that they would promote a party as Sims wants when they shown themselves in their talks with us so lacking in desire to do anything—so anxious that any moves they make have solid gold guarantees that there will be masses around

Upon waiting day after day for Salsberg to phone me I finally got him. They have turned down our proposition to call a regroupment meeting--we had concretized the proposition by suggesting an all-in May Day. They have also turned down our suggestion that we put out something like questions for the Left. They don't see anything other than themselves and us, and I think that they feel that they do not have too much so that it will all fall into our hands. From their point of view the balance is very uneven now--here we are with a unified doctrine, a paper, a functioning group which they probably figure numbers something like 60 here in Toronto. I am trying to get in contact with Sims since the rumours about would suggest he is more aggressive. Bruce is staying at Jim and Sally's mothers. He has probably sent you his address. Although he may be somewhat upset by all the confusion of moving and finding his way around the big city...and the latter is not easy by any means.

Things are moving here in the forums...we have been having more contacts than comrades. The discussions have been very good. Bryan is working hard and with considerable success to get people down here. Fred chaired the last meeting and is improving considerably. Guess what Hall who left us just a few months ago has now submitted an application for readmission. We have a couple more moving close and we will be stronger when you get here next month.

But after Montreal, the best news is Vancouver. As you no doubt guessed we got the same abusive all black comments on our election material in Broadview as we got in Hastings. But they held a conference around April 15 or so and we have just received the minutes. Seattle came up. The minutes record a few comments of opposition to a proposal that I was going to make that we drop the CCF masthead because there will be no election for some time now, the CCF will not be endorsed by the CLC this week in convention and regroupment is the big issue--with CCFers now too following the CCF debacle on March 31st. I gather the comments were the same tripe that we are sectarian, vanguard in advance of the advance-guard etc. At any rate Seattle spoke, explained a few of the facts of life and presto change they agreed that we should change the masthead. At the PC meeting since we had this much agreement we decided to let the whole thing drop until we could discuss the matter in more calm and come to a rounded conclusion. It seems that they are now really seriously going to take up the problems of regroupment. They sent us a lengthy list of Stalinist names that we did not have before and what's more some money which we haven't seen a long time. The possibilities in BC are along with Montreal the most favorable in all Canada. In a relative sense the Stalinists are much or have been much more influential in the labor movement ~~with~~ there. And then too we have some much more valuable people--in Malcolm Bruce and connections with such as Fergus McKean. Then there is the Young group some of whom should be with us. I am going to be so bold tonight now that we have them moving to suggest that Charlie or one of them do some distributing of the latest issue to any large CCF or LPP meetings in the next couple of weeks.

This issue is all in all quite a coup I think. I would think that there is considerable interest in the forum across the country in political circles. Then the decline of the CCF so obviously affirms our criticisms. The Gallup poll just a few days ago did some quizzing on how the CCF vote went--one in three former CCF votes went over to the PCs. With Coldwell walking out and now Knowles--I see that the Star is going to be all the more able to push its coalition with the Liberals line--very very effectively every Saturday. Coldwell has been announced as writing a Saturday column in the Star. If it is going down as it has appeared for some time now why then let it go right down the quicker the better and clear the way. I asked Vancouver to write us up an article on the election but we never got anything or any word. The CCF vote rose in BC for reasons given in chart but strange to say in the two ridings Vancouver West which we played quite a role in at the riding that Stanley Park ran the CCF vote dropped. But it is now 7.45 and the meeting must be set up so I must close. Hope you are getting the opportunity to brush on your French. And hope you are alright for funds. Could you borrow French conversant records from someone in the City do you think

warmest regards

Ross

April 26, 1956

Bruce Batten, Toronto

Dear Reg;

We have been receiving your various missiles. The cartoons were very ~~valuable~~ ^{valuable}. Did I send either you or Lillian some snapshots of the Gerrard Street election headquarters? I will if you let me know that I haven't. One of your cartoons graced the store window--the one about the gas bill, the telephone bill but no Bill of Rights. Everyone thought they were very good. But we could not use the others--for instance the one ~~about~~ ^{about} forward the CCF as showing the future...as we happened to be running where a CCFer was running. I have placed them all aside and I am wondering if you want them back. Let me know. And speaking about cartoons--how have you liked the line cuts in the past few issues. The beauty of them over engravings is that they don't cost us 15 to 20 bucks. The comrade who does those lines also did the engraving that appeared in the second election leaflet. I thought that it was excellent except for the fact that we did not have a reducing glass or we would have had the letters CCF on the "oldwell-like figure (with one foot on the road to socialism but with hammer saw etc looking at the creeping structure of capitalism) made considerably larger.

It was certainly good to read of the conference and the decisions made there. It is also good to have this election and now the CLC ~~election~~ under our belts. Now we do know the situation with regards to the CCF and the working class. The election tells us in a way scarcely open to interpretations what the CCF is in Quebec, etc. I have your letter of March 21 which was read to the PC at hand however I do not think any purpose would be served by ~~making~~ going over it--for instance your witty comments about Dawson campaigning in New Brunswick and Britannia Beach--not Broadview. But of course there are no local issues in federal elections--the Libs-PC's, CCF, no one campaigned on local issues but questions of national policies...and we were campaigning against the Minister of Transport.

Yes, the election results were very revealing. ~~It was very revealing~~ The large box on the results I thought pointed up quite a bit ~~that~~ not at all revealed from a first glance at the data as it appeared in the press. ~~It was very revealing~~ I wondered about the situation in Alberta during the last tour when we were doing door to door work. ...we didn't even strike sparks let alone flames. We did not have anything on the Gagnon-Rouleau campaign. I asked Gagnon if he would like to send some material but he did not even mention this in his next letter. But as you no doubt noted Gagnon beat the CCFer in this very central city of Montreal riding. And I gather his campaign was quite a modest one. I must send you a copy of his leaflet. They were quite surprised to hear of the kind of campaign we carried--two leaflets, 48,000 distribution--extensive door to door canvassing, sound truck etc.

We were looking forward to receiving an item on the BC ~~election~~ campaign. I notice that Clifford and Judge dropped in votes while everywhere else the CCF vote rose somewhat. Are we able to explain this? This phenomenon may be very useful to the right wing against the left.

An intelligent warning that Douglas Hamilton made to the CLC delegates upon the adoption of the new line for a former labor party with the CCF only as a part--his warning that we must be careful that we don't sink the CCF ship. I would think that anywhere where there is no election in the next couple of years and the unions are not compelled to take an active PAC stand we will see the CCF further decline. The door is really opening up for regroupment as loyalties to the CCF are being cut to ribbons. Glad to see that so much attention was given to this matter at the conference. It would seem to me that you are in a much much better position than we here in Toronto to move out boldly. When approaching Galsberg with the project of a united May Day we ~~presented~~ ^{presented} not just ourselves but some comrades from our ranks, as being supporters of such a prop

osition--Max Armstrong, executive member of the CP 1921, Doug Carr, a friend of ours who has contested several elections for the CCF, etc. We were not too able to do this, at least carry it off for Salsberg didn't go for it. But it seems to me that there in Vancouver we are in a much better position with forces around us to start the process off. There is the Young group. I would think that they would go for a forum of some kind. They must be looking for some kind of outlet other than their paper and they must feel confident armed as they are with Redney Young. Then we have our own Malcolm Bruce whose appearance in such a forum would be attractive to ex-Lppers--what about Fergus McKean? Do you think it possible to commence a regroupment forum off in Vancouver? The last issue of the paper with the report of the Montreal conference should be a real inspiration, don't you think. We have mailed copies to the list of Stalinists that Elaine sent to us a few weeks back. Perhaps persons like Lefaux would be interested--it would give them something to do.

We have been temporarily stalemated here in Toronto. The Montreal forum moves forward. We have been invited to have a representative on the panel of the coming meeting. Their minutes suggest that they have been successful in attracting other forces. Bruce has moved down there to be in the thick of things. He dropped me a note the other day, he has an apartment and has already established contact with Gagnon and some of the others. I have proposed to Gagnon that we ask the panelists on the next forum to submit their contribution in writing and have offered to publish the contributions as a pamphlet. It would be just what we want for the national tour. I haven't heard from him on this yet.. I have suggested that he ask Salsberg to contribute and that I would also... we want names for the pamphlet. I doubt that I would go down to Montreal this time but suggest that Bruce present it if this proposal is acted upon. If they do not go for the pamphlet idea we will have Bruce represent us. He has developed considerably over the past while and I am confident could do a good job. The situation is very promising in Montreal. Several important subs have come in. A real challenge for Bruce and his wife who will be joining him in a couple of months on return from the southern school. We hear via the grape vine that Salsberg, Lapchitz, Binder and others are all going down to Montreal on May 24th. As yet we do not know what is coming off. But the seven clubs and the regroupment forum are the only bright spots so far with which they could do anything if they have any intentions of doing anything. Salsberg phoned us about a week ago to tell us that this informal group of ex-LP leaders that hang around him turned thumbs down on our two propositions--¹ that we call a regroupment meeting--possibly via a May Day rally and ² that we publish a pamphlet. It is apparent from all our connections so far with Salsberg and company, and he incidentally appears to be the most aggressive, are unprepared to move out at all unless they have guarantees of some fairly wide following. We seem to be stalemated along this line right now. Who knows what the May 24th meeting might present us.

But another field seems to be opening up--the fight against the H Bomb tests--no doubt the hottest political struggle on the world scene. We have four or five activists from the Fellowship of Reconciliation at our May Day meeting last night. One of them distributed a tract amongst the audience of about 48 and we announced a meeting that they are sponsoring in Queens Park on May 11th. We will try to get into this field although there is no unity in it--the church groups are apparently keeping hands off of the Endicott group. Some months back when we wrote up the Endicott in support of the "Innipeg Unitarian church petition on the H Bomb" we contacted the Unitarian Church here in Toronto. We got the freeze. But if things start to move and it certainly looks that way they won't be able to keep us out. This should also help further our regroupment line--there will no doubt be Stalinists and others moving around. The next issue of the paper will have a big coverage on the H Bomb Tests and the world wide struggle.

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I am trying to get Paddy to work on a project we have had long in mind--the pulling together of all the material we can get preparatory to the writing of a history of the Canadian left. In a week or so we are going to start to tape conversations we will be having with Max Armstrong, another old pioneer of the Marxist movement here, Bill Green, a chap who was the Toronto secretary of the CLDL and close to Moriarity and the Canadian Lovestonites. We must get to work on this or a lot of valuable material is going to be lost. Max is well over 70 as is Green. I talked to Malcolm about this when out there last. Has he done anything about recording his experiences? He is no doubt in my mind the most able and most important person in this project. All the people involved in the project here have read The Roots of American Communism, The History of American Trotskyism etc. We are now about to get to the tape recorder. It is most important I am sure you will agree that we get after Malcolm. How can we co-ordinate this effort?

One of the comrades wrote in asking if the Gerard Fortin speech to the LPP NEC could be circulated. I have very good reasons for not wanting to ask Gagnon that. Furthermore I do not think that it is too valuable so I would prefer we did not circulate it.

We have our four people for the national tour--as a matter of fact we were suddenly confronted with six volunteers. We hope to push off this coming Friday--for two or three weeks work in southern Ontario. ~~INFORMATION CONCERNING THE TOUR~~ We will have a trial run so to speak..it will be a test of competency. The comrades who will be on the tour are a good choice. Alan will be on it again. They will do a good job

But must tear away

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But must tear away

warmest regards

Ross

May 9, 1958

20c

CANADIAN DEMOCRACY

and the

STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

*A report of the second meeting
of the Montreal Socialist Forum*



The Socialist Forum plans to publish in the near future more journals of this type to contain any material submitted on chosen subjects. Since the Socialist Forum is independent of any existing political organizations, it depends on voluntary contributions to finance its activities. For a subscription of \$2.00 per year, the forum will send to each subscriber all material published by it and all information on its activities.

Copies of this pamphlet (7 for \$1.00)
can be obtained from:

THE COUNCIL OF SOCIALIST CLUBS
3658 St. Lawrence Blvd. - Montreal, Quebec

THE TORONTO LABOR BOOKSTORE
569 Yonge Street - Toronto, Ontario

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1958-May9

(Pages 6 to 12 in “Canadian Democracy and the struggle for Socialism: A report of the second meeting of the Montreal Socialist Forum, May 9, 1958)

R. Dowson: Socialist Educational League

In tonight's forum, we are discussing one of the most vital problems facing the socialist movement in Canada, one that has been a source of division in the labor and socialist movement for years. By bringing the differing viewpoints together on the same platform this forum is making a big contribution to the clarification of differences, and the finding of points of agreement necessary to the re-invigoration of the socialist movement in this country.

The importance of the topic cannot be overestimated. For years the capitalist class of Canada and other capitalist countries have been using the smear that socialism is totalitarian and anti-democratic, in their struggle to maintain their power and confuse and divide the working class.

Their own system, a system of minority rule by a handful of exploiting owners of industry who hold sway over the livelihoods of millions of people, and a system which extends throughout the underdeveloped colonial areas of the world, brutally oppressing millions more, this they characterize as democracy and freedom.

The monstrous preparations for H-Bomb war against the Soviet Union, the militarization of economies, the regimentation of peoples for war, all this is done in the name of the “Free World.” Among the most ardent partisans of the “Free World” are the fascist Franco regime, the discredited Chiang (Kai-shek, nationalist general, then head of Taiwan –ed.) clique cast off by the people of China in their great revolution 10 years ago, and numerous other dictators throughout the world.

In 1950, the Canadian people were dragged into the Korean War by the St. Laurent government without consultation, even though the Gallup Poll showed the majority of the Canadian people opposed to participation. This war to prop up the Syngman Rhee (pro-US-State Department head of South Korea – ed.) regime, one of the most brutal dictatorships in Asia, was also carried on in the name of freedom and democracy.

This double-talk of the capitalist propagandists has had a tremendous impact on people in the Western world, including Canada, due to the rise of Stalinism. The imperialist rulers point at the USSR, with its police dictatorship and huge concentration camps for political prisoners, with the regimentation of life in the interests of a privileged caste, without freedom of assembly or the right of workers to form and vote for parties of their choice, with the press and radio, the union movement and management of industry the exclusive reserve of a privileged all-powerful bureaucracy. The capitalists and their supporters tell the workers that this is socialism. This is what will happen if you do away with the “free enterprise” system, “our way of life.”

The defense of this regime in the Kremlin, and the theoretical justification for all its atrocious anti-working class actions, by the Communist parties throughout the world, has been a big factor in helping the capitalists spread the propaganda that the socialist movement and socialism are totalitarian and anti-democratic.

As socialists, we must counteract this propaganda but not by joining those within the labor movement who have added their names to the baiters of the Soviet Union, and support the imperialist military preparations. Despite the Kremlin regime there is much that is progressive in the Soviet Union, and it is the progressive features, their anti-capitalist economy, at which the imperialists are really aiming in their war preparations.

No, we must revive the democratic traditions of the socialist movement before Stalin. We must make it clear that not only is socialism democratic, but that it is the only road to a genuine and expanding democracy, beside which this limited democracy under capitalism will be insignificant by comparison.

Marx and Engels made it clear what they thought about the relation between Socialism and Democracy over 100 years ago when they wrote in the Communist Manifesto; "All previous historical movements were movements of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority." What could be more democratic than that? The Manifesto goes on to state: "The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to establish democracy."

In other words, the founders of the socialist movement believed that genuine democracy could only really begin when the capitalist class had been removed from power.

Canada today is a capitalist democracy. Although the real power and control is in the hands of a tiny minority of capitalists, the Canadian people do have certain democratic rights, which they would not have under capitalism in its fascist form. The labor and socialist movements must always be on guard, ready to defend those democratic rights won by the struggles of previous generations, and seek to extend those rights.

Although there is no immediate threat of a large scale assault on our democratic rights, we must be prepared. The rapid growth of fascism in Europe during the capitalist crisis preceding the Second World War caught the working class movement off its guard, clinging to outworn theories, basically liberal, about democracy and the state, and they were unprepared to meet the challenge.

The rise of McCarthyism, which made damaging inroads into the democratic rights of the American people only a few years ago, was also aided by a lack of theoretical preparation by the left-wing movement. Many labor leaders, whipped up by the witch hunt propaganda, went along with persecutions of radicals and laws which are a dagger aimed at the heart of the entire labor movement.

To get back to Canadian democracy and compare it with genuine democracy as we foresee it under socialism. Socialism, I believe, stands for the widest possible participation of the people in the management of industry and in government. Unlike in the USSR under Stalin and his successors, genuine socialism stands for the right of working people and farmers to make their will prevail through the right to form and vote for political parties of their choice, which they believe will best represent their interests, and to have the freedom to spread their views through press and radio. Most of all, there must be organs of state power which are both representative and responsible to the will of the majority of people.

How does the capitalist democracy in Canada measure up? Let us look at industry. Although the workers by their struggle for union organization have gained a certain voice in wages and working conditions, the owners of industry through their management, have complete authoritarian control over the process of production. The question of production schedules, speed-ups, layoffs, are the exclusive preserve of management. The management of industry is a totalitarian dictatorship, even though its decisions affect the lives and livelihoods of millions of workers in this country.

We have freedom of the press. But publishing is big business, and all the daily newspapers in Canada are in the hands of big business. Along with radio and television, all the decisive means of communication in Canada are in the hands of big business and the government, slanting the news and spreading propaganda which they wish the Canadian people to accept.

Representative Government?

And do we have representative government? It is true that every four years the people have the right to elect a legislature. But the electoral laws are such that it is only an inaccurate reflection of the will of the people. In the March 31 election, the CCF (Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, forerunner to the NDP) got about 10 per cent of the vote but only 3 per cent of the seats, while the Tories with just over half the vote got about 80 per cent of the seats. There is no provision for recall, so that changes in the mood of the people which can take place decisively in four years find no reflection in parliamentary representation.

The question of the role of parliament in the struggle for socialism is one on which there is much difference of opinion in the socialist movement. Can the parliament of a capitalist state become an organ of workers' power? Parliament is only one part of the state. Although formally the Canadian government is responsible to parliament, I believe that the real power lies outside of parliament.

When questioned last Fall on whether there would be any change in foreign policy with a Conservative government, External Affairs Minister Sydney Smith stated that governments act on the advice of their experts in the civil service, and since the advisers remained the same as during the Liberal government, he assumed that the policy would remain the same.

During that session of parliament it was also revealed that the government, through the Department of National Defense, had made a secret deal which gave the power to commit Canadian airforces to action to the American General Partridge, without even the consultation of the Canadian government, let alone the parliament, or the people.

Parliament and the State

By the time many questions come up for debate in parliament the decision has already been made by order-in-council and is being carried out by some other branch of the state. The organs of state power carry on their activities quite smoothly even when parliament is dissolved, or not in session. The civil service, ruled by highly paid functionaries, who are imbued with capitalist ideology and trained as loyal administrators for the status quo; the military, ruthlessly dominated and subordinated to the professional officer caste which is mainly drawn from the ranks of the ruling class itself; the police, who are probably the most efficient strikebreaking forces the government has at its disposal.

This is the situation that a socialist government with a parliamentary majority would be confronted with. This is not to say that parliament does not play a role. It gives a platform where the voice of the people can be heard, and governments can be forced to heed even a minority in parliament, and give concessions, if that minority is backed up outside of parliament by popular pressure. Socialists cannot reject parliamentary struggle, but neither can they ignore the vast forces at the disposal of the ruling class outside of parliament.

Experience has shown that the capitalist class will resort to any lengths to maintain their power when confronted with a socialist majority determined to carry out its full program. The rise of fascism in Germany and Italy showed that if necessary they will destroy democratic rights when their rule is faced with an insoluble crisis.

Even in France, with a strong democratic tradition, the postwar period saw a tampering with the electoral laws to prevent the Communist party from gaining a majority. Today, confronted by a parliamentary crisis over their reactionary war in Algeria, they are more and more openly talking of restricting parliamentary rights and resorting to a De Gaullist dictatorship.

And in Canada, even when there has been relatively an absence of social conflicts, for years the infamous Padlock Law was allowed to stand. The Emergency Powers Act stayed on the books as a standing threat to the civil liberties of the Canadian people until after the Korean War. This act gave the government sweeping powers of arbitrary arrest and imprisonment without trial.

It is not for us here tonight to draw a complete blueprint of how socialism will be achieved in Canada, of the exact form that the struggle for socialism will take. We must learn from our own experiences and from the experiences of those who have carried on the struggle before us in Canada and in other countries.

In the Russian Revolution of 1917, the workers, soldiers, and peasants built soviets, or councils, as the most effective and democratic instruments to implement their will, and begin the construction of the first workers state. The victory of the Stalinist dictatorship was only achieved with the destruction of the very essence of the soviets, which were probably the most democratic and responsible instruments of state power ever known. In 1956, the Polish and Hungarian workers again embarked on the road of workers' councils in carrying forward their struggle against the Stalinist dictatorship. In Hungary, aside from the Russian army, these councils, democratically based on the shops and army units, were the biggest power in the country, and the most vigilant against the utilization of the revolution by reactionary elements.

Canadian socialism will bring a greater democracy than ever known before in this country. Whatever forms the struggle takes, the new system established must assure the broadest possible participation of the workers and farmers in the management of industry, and the processes of government. And once a socialist majority is achieved in Canada, this majority will have to be backed up by the independent organizations of the working class. The stronger and better organized the workers are to defend the democratic will of the people against reaction, the greater will be the chances of a peaceful transformation and the speedy construction of a democratic and socialist Canada.

(End)

May 30, 1958

Dear Bunny;

Cant send in any copy to the printer today so I am going to keep one eye on the store on attempt to take up some much delayed work on correspondence. And yours is the first one, then follows one to England and so on.

Well I am not going to Europe. Imagine. We receive no word from England about the date I should be there. We write the US, they don't know but give us an address. We airmail this address for information. We receive no word until suddenly on May 27 we get a wire "Come immediately—June first to sixth." I had made as many preparations as I could—passport all set, arrangement Wednesday with the doctor, etc, etc but not so that I could be half way across the globe in four days notice...get reservations, have you here etc etc. The deadline of the paper wasn't until that very night Bruce wrote and said he would have his in until Thursday, I am now hoping it will be here on Monday. At anyrate it is all off and while I have become more conservative about hiking around the country each time I come back from, it must be about five trips now across Canada I was looking forward to this experience..above all to meeting the leading cadre of the world movement. Besides such big things are developing in France—when better could I see Paris

So I take it ~~that~~ you should now stay on until the school comes to a complete wind-up and then come here at your leisure—of course I know the old dollar sign will be a big factor in this leisure. I certainly hope you will come to ^{Toronto} shortly after you drop in on Montreal. Not only would all of us want very much to see you again just as you were before you left for the school but we would want to get a bit of an idea just how you tick now. ~~It~~We would all be happy to put you up and wine and dine you. Besides we want to know what is going on down there, particularly on the regroupment front which you must be a real specialist on now.

Glad to see you are managing to get some real discussions with the comrades there on problems very much related to ours. This is one of the big problems we have a developed cadre which can discuss on a high plane the problems of the movement. Our Vancouver comrades are probably the most experienced but for various reasons discussions with them never get off the ground. It is difficult to ascertain their opinion on any matter and the plane of discussion is bitter and sharp. And here so many of our comrades are young and inexperienced ~~that~~ and we are carrying such a work load that we seem neither to have the time nor the capacity for such discussions. I am sure you will be an aid in improving this situation upon your return.

Yes, Montreal confronts us with the biggest opportunity we have ever had. All impressions are that Bruce is conducting himself on a correct basis. I questioned his joining the C of S C primarily because I was afraid that we might by so doing jeopardise our relations with these comrades. We dont want to appear to be making an entry into their organisation—we dont want to move in and before we know it even despite ourselves to a considerable degree get involved in disputes that they have, have forces gravitate towards us, end up with a faction and then who knows. I was all more the somewhat afraid of this when Bruce told me that our contribution to the Socialism and Democracy forum cut into Gagnon's support among his own people—that many expressed their agreement with us as against Gagnon. You see my doubts were not in the direction of wanting us to stay clean and commence the building of our own little group, which it is apparent we could do without too much difficulty. Yes our work there is long term. Everything is in our favor without rushing things. After all we have a paper—we are a homogeneous force with a developed theory and tradition. I gather from Bruce's latest letter Patterson and Acron do canvassing of contacts with our paper.

Did Bruce tell you that Gagnon and Patterson are coming in here on Sunday. We got a wire a few days ago from the former affirming this. He did not state any intentions and I wired back suggesting three proposals—we call the SEL and freinds together for him, that we try to arrange in a hurry a meeting with others on the platform, that I arrange something for him with Salsberg. Of course I tol him I would be available at all times. It is Friday noon now and I have not heard from him again so I assume he is just coming in and we will meet. In all probability he has made some arragment to see Salsberg who I gather did not turn up in Montreal though Lipshitz did. I will of course try to keep as full notes of our conversations as I can so that I can let Bruce and you know all about our meeting.

Right now we are pretty much at a dead end on regroupment in Toronto. The Socialist Forum of Rosenthal and Murray was just about washed up last month until it had its very successful meeting with Scott Nearing—about 100 turned out. Salsberg and co have been hanging around it and appear to have some idea that it is a funnel in the direction of the CCF or some broader arena. At anyrate following the last meeting both Heyand Smith gave ten bucks to it. This is all closed up tight until the fall now. The forum is quite vigorously anti-Marxist. Doug Carr after the last one made an urgent call upon us to come around and give him some aid in the fight against the crew of pacifists, religious screwballs and antiMarxists as he called it. It so happned we have something of our own on that night as we had no one there. Up until that forum they had been going steadily downhill, having less in attendance than our own ~~forum~~ weekly forums and really nothing in it.

Salsberg sees something there—as a matter of fact he and some others consider it a great event when various persons who in the past had extremely hostile relations with one another come together under the same roof and listen to someone like Huberman. Huberman was brought up here to speak to the Einstein circle in the UJPO. A leading activist said he would invite us and did but at the last moment the date was changed it turned out we had a branch meeting and so I went up alone as a gesture of solidarity. Sma Carr was there along with JB (carr is a member of the E C-UJPO) I got Pistell to go with a couple of freinds. A really Jewish petty bourgeois gathering though. Huberman was speaking to Pistell the next day and asked who I was. Huberman said I was the politest Trotskyist he had ever met. I asked him a couple of pointed questions. His speech was terrible but the atmosphere was oh so polite and respectful that I tried to present them as positivley as I could. I vhalenged Huberman in a nice way as an apologist for Stalinism when he identified himself with the democratic path to socialism as in India but had to admit that the totalitarian way in China was getting results--of course the point is that in India we have not had that oh so little revlution that we need and had in China. Pistell told me that the US forums are getting nowhere but are bogged down in disputes between the CP and the SWP—and the SWP was alienating everyone wth its dogmatism—its harranging and arguing This is what Pistell said Huberman said

Pistell is not going anywhere. I met one chap he has around him and had a very profitable discussion on Stalinism and Bolshevism—in particular Kronstadt. They are going to the right. There are differences in the Salsberg group. Salsberg and hell I cant tink of his name—the scotch fellow onetime Toronto alderman—seem to be the only ones really interested in doing anything. Binder definitely no. Bruce says same with Lipshitz. The Scotc ifellow seems most likely. Have been out to his place several times but missed him, spoke to him on the phone to no important effect. But perhaps Gagnon will be doing something with them this weekend

We are apparently getting nowhere with Vancouver where it seems to be the possibilites are the very best. I have raised the matter now several times. But they just do not take up it up. Here is the Young group. We have the invaluable Malcolm Bruce and McKeen former provincial leader friendly. And here we are still piddling around with the CCF—which out there of course is not at all spent as elsewhere but offers us very little. I raise this matter for you may well hear something as WFW was up on a visit.

Right now there is such a ~~permal~~ stew out there that I am thinking of suggesting to the three NC members that they absent themselves from the branch meetings for a period. I tell you these things so that you will have a bit of an idea of some of our problems.

The big thing we are doing with regroupment is our tour. The tourists are doing a very good job in and around Stalinists ~~circles~~ in south-western Ontario. Haven't heard how they did in Windsor yet but Brantford, London, Sarnia turned up over a hundred subs. They phoned in on Sunday last--apparently the good citizens of Sarnia were warned over the radio about our arrival and doings in the community. Jerry told me they made good contact in London with some ex-Stalinists. They will be in here by about next Wednesday to rest up for a few days before heading north and west on the main line and I will write you all about it.

Now to skim through your letter to see that I haven't missed anything--Sue why not stay over for the 13th and 14th of June meeting. How are you fixed for funds. I hope you got the \$15 (was it) that I sent on in care of the big city.

Glad you are having an opportunity to learn how to speak. You shouldn't be peeved about our not constructively criticizing you. After all everything is relative and you were one of our best. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ I do remember saying a few words about your technique not that I am any hell. You always spoke too fast. I always thought that your manner was somewhat cold, divorced from the audience which made you sort of a lecturer--a lecturer who was not at all used to being challenged or criticized by the audience.

Aside from your ~~presentation~~ manner I thought that your presentation lacked a personal warmth necessary in a good speaker. And on top of all that I have a sneaky feeling that up until recent days you were not too ready to accept constructive criticism--touche. Yes it would be very good for the short time you are here if you would spend some time with us to help us become better speakers.

Fred was in on Tuesday his day off. He has a job. has been around to see some of the leading Stalinists and ex-Stalinists--and is in close working relations with our friends in the CCF there. I think that he is going to develop under the pressure of circumstances---as he really wants to get around. He will soon learn his inadequacies. Had a long talk with him on how I think he should work on Stalinists. Incidentally the Stalinist Tribune is in a real bad way. They have come to the close of their six week financial drive for 16,000 and they have only recorded \$6,500--and a thousand of this was advanced but not yet collected by the Manitoba group. They have extended the drive a couple of weeks. ~~They~~ At the beginning they also intended to get 200 subs in Toronto and 50 in Hamilton--there have been no reports on this at all. This is a national drive except for BC--Toronto was out for \$6,000 and has \$2,250. Murray should be interested.

Terrific developments in France--imagine a demonstration of 250,000 according to police estimates--~~a~~ a million by others. Von Hindenberg--De Gaulle will have difficulties before he can usher in the Hitler.. I see the CP is on the outside--as for the SP--at a real shake-up there is going to be in France for us..

warmest regards

Ross

May 30, 1958

Bill White
Y.T
Dear Bill;

It was certainly good to hear from you. I was wondering what had become of you. ...what with the closing down of Britannia Beach. I couldn't quite see you settled down on a delta farm --at least not yet.

I sent off a pile of literature to you just as soon as I received your letter. I hope that you got it all alright. It totalled up to \$5.75. I hope that it turned out to be what you wanted. Of course there are lots of other things here that may well be of use to you. For instance there is study course material to go with the two Minneapolis Trial pamphlets. The SWP has just put out an excellent compilation of material that would be very useful for anyone making a study of the old man's Revolution Betrayed--all the latest data available on the USSR, etc. Give me an idea how things are panning out so that I can recommend various items to you that you may not be acquainted with.

I guess we won't be seeing you on the tour this year. Right now four of the comrades are away with our new truck (new to us) in Southern-Western Ontario. They should be back into Toronto within about five days in order to head north and west on the big hike. It has been too cold to go north and on top of that we thought that we would like to break them in on easy stages. They have done very well so far. They picked up over a hundred subscriptions in Brantford, Sarnia and London. They are now in Windsor and will be coming back through Niagara Falls. They have made some excellent contact with Stalinists and ex-Stalinists. The regroupment process which has come along so well in Montreal has been very useful in overcoming prejudices.

While the ~~main~~ regroupment process has got bogged down here in Toronto due to the unwillingness of the ex-LPP leaders around Salsberg to move out at all we are still looking for jinks to move into. This Sunday Gagon is coming in from Montreal. He probably has already made some arrangements to meet with Salsberg. He has notified us of his coming and we will be meeting with him. Politically he remains pretty well Stalinized but he is very friendly, wants to work with us--in fact he highly respects us as he appears to be a man of action and we are the only really activist socialist force around. His group, the Council of Socialist Clubs contains some good elements but their Bolshevization will be a long term process. Two of our comrades have moved down to Montreal in order to work closer with them and we are being readily accepted. The organizer of the C of S C and another activist use the Vanguard in their contact work.

The possibilities for a regroupment forum of some sort in Toronto are very good. There is division in the Salsberg group with Charles Sims and Salsberg appearing to be the only ones that have a tendency to want to move out. If they would move out a real ~~main~~ broad movement would commence to unfold. As it is we are at present limited to personal contact work on the odd Stalinist that we come across. We are selling subs and literature and where we are not successful in that overcoming to some degree longtime prejudices but without some broader movement it is not possible for us to mobilize them into anything. The big question remains --will Salsberg and company provide us with such a movement--

I hope you are getting the Militant up there. It would seem that the forums had pretty well gone as far as they could and the SWP has moved out boldly to propose a United Socialist Ticket for the coming state elections. The next issue will be dealing with the conference they have called in New York. Some of the really big names heretofore associated with the Stalinists will be there. This proposition is really

putting the skids under the Stalinists as they are still carrying their pro-Democrat line.

~~Manitoba~~ The LPP is in a bad way down here. Their six week financial drive behind the Tribune has come to a close but they have extended it a few more weeks into June. They are after \$16,000 and raised only \$6,500—with a thousand of that advanced by the Manitoba section before it has been collected. They originally announced they were out for 200 subs in Toronto and 50 in Hamilton—they have remained silent on this matter. They are down to a hard core mostly Ukrainian and Finnish...plus a few hacks.

Things are quiet with the CCF here too. I guess they are licking their wounds what with the results of the Ontario by-elections where they dropped in one case from 2,800 down to 800. Long time has passed before I have been able to pick this up again Bill. It is now June 14th. The comrades have come in from the western Ontario part of the tour and now gone on again for the long western hop. I am hoping you will be able to get into Vancouver somewhere around the 20th of August for the conference we are going to arrange. They got slightly over 350 subs all told on the western Ontario tour and they made some excellent contact with Stalinist dissidents—particularly amongst Windsor autoworkers. We have put the best in touch with our Detroit comrades. Sooner or later we will have to colonize Windsor. But we are doing as much in this line right now as we possibly could do. We have sent a comrade into Hamilton—first time in our history. We are in touch with some good leftists now in the CCF but as they see it not for long.

But a few words about some matters raised in your note. Yes, I see no reason at all, lacking a CCF candidate why we should not promote the union going into the elections...particularly mine mill. Of course it is probable that the CCF will run in this coming provincial election isn't it. They probably hope to take BC this coming election and will contest every seat. If I am not mistaken provincially the Yukon is tied in with BC isn't it? The recent convention in Vancouver marked from all I can gather from Meg and Bill a turn to the left on the part of the BC section. They called for pulling out of NATO. A gather that they did not go along with the idea of the executive appointing anyone to negotiate with the CLC the meaning of the Winnipeg CLC resolution on political action but insisted on elections from the floor. The result was fairly right wing but the top trade union brass are carrying the line that mine mill and the fishermen are to be on the outside which of course infuriates even some of the rightest opportunists for they cannot take some of the coast seats and interior for that matter without some working arrangements with the mine mill and fishermen. Yes I would think that it would be a good idea to promote mine mill ~~promoting~~ advancing a candidate early as this will strengthen the opposition to the top brass policy.

Will be glad to see you in a position to play an active roll in mine mill. There should be some good elements going to the provincial conventions etc. We don't have much contact with former Stalinist led unions here in the East aside from one important UE shop in Toronto. And things have been very good for us. Actually the union is in one hell of a shape, in large part due to the fact that the entire leadership built up over the years has walked away into indifference. The Crisis in the LPP hit them hard. We have been able to reactivate one or two and to bring them much closer to us and we have been able to develop some rank and filers. The field is wide open, which is very good even though the bosses are in a strong position. There have been some layoffs recently but I am looking forward to our being able to play a very effective role in this shop. The boys have been going to all the council meetings, camp affairs etc and made valuable contact. The IUE may be launching a raid shortly for the too know the weakened condition of the UE.

The Stalinists don't seem to be in the same bad way in BC as they are in the rest of the country. Any information you can give me on this would be appreciated.

Just an added note on literature. You will have to get the weaver book from the Stanley Park CCF club or from Rodney Young himself. There is some good material for discussion on a higher political plane in the last two International Socialist reviews---one is an excellent presentation of the various viewpoints on how to stop the war and of course ably developing ours. Another presents all the various viewpoints on the struggle to democracy in the Soviet Union. Both are written by Joe Hansen.

Drop us a line any opportunity that you have and we will try to answer more promptly.

warmest regards

Ross

Here are a few undigested comments that if I were with you in your discussion on our conduct at the convention that I would like to put forward and exchange with you. Its is unfortunate that we do not have a copy of the resolutions, but the essence of the most important from the point of view of our future work, has been made know in the Commonwealth. The national council is presenting a resolution the the CLC political action decision. The resolution is asking that the convention welcome the CLC resolution and instruct the council and national executive to enter into discussions with the CLC and report back to the next regular or special convention of the CCF.

There are elements in the CCF, who present themselves as left wingers who if I am not mistaken will appose this resolution. The opposition from our experience will take on the form of arguing that the CLC should join our federated CCF party "let them come to us- the door has always been open. It will also argue that the label CCF be maintained. It will fight against the resolution in the name of defnding the socialist program of the party--after all at the BC convention the left got some hat tipping to the Regina Manifesto inserted into a resolution. There is no doubt in my mind that we must support the national council resolution--but at the same time we must utilize the situation in so far as we are able to give it a left content and to appeal to the best of the left.

Date? →

Elmer Roper in his address to the recent Alta convention talks about the whole new arena that the new farmer labor party will open up to CCFers to work in. with the developing economic crisis in Canada the developing international crisis confronting the west this labor party which is now in the cards will really and truly open up to us. The CCF leadership dominates the party. They have made their position clear --they are dumping the CCF. Nothing is going to sustain the CCF--there are no forces that are in a position to block the leadership, for the leadership, the CCF is through. For us too it is also through - there is no longer any viable left current in the CCF--the left that is in the CCF has no perspective. We have only been able to support the CCF as an instrument of independent labor political action in this country. It is already appearing less and less as this factor--in Vancouver the trade unions are taking over the municipal field and we will see the same thing here in Toronto this fall. Within the next year or so the CCF brass will have worked out with the trade union brass some new set-up. As things now look it will probably mean the liquidation of the CCF into a new formation not federation--with the CCF playing the role of some kind of fabian educational association. I don't think we should fight for any bargaining points in the summit conferences, in so far as the CCF as such is concerned. I cannot see that we would be interested in being in a CCF Fabian body federated to the mass labor party. We want to be in the mass labor party itself--in the unions and their political educational committees and in whatever riding forms they set up. We want this labor party to be broad and all inclusive, to be a class party, to encompass the class. The socialists will work in the labor party but they would not be able to do so through the CCF. Those who would fight for the CCF to be maintained and federated to the labor party are the very forces that we will have to fight against. The "socialist" opposition to the national council res. is by and large composed of sectarians, who have no concept of the revolutionary, the socialist, program. And if the CCF retained its identity as part of the a federated labor party it would be the

center of opposition to the socialist revolutionary program. Of course there is another important matter that we are interested in besides the labor party which is a little ways away. That is the regroupment of the socialists in Canada. This is necessary so that they can play an effective role in the new labor party. The debate over the national council res. and its repercussions through the constituency organizations which still exist to some degree in B.C. may well provide us with an opportunity to pose the issue of socialist regroupment. Of course I do not mean directly. But the decision taken at the convention will pose the whole question what are the socialists to do. we should participate in the debate on the council res. as socialists and those who want to be part on the big process. It is not excluded that the opponents of the resolution will caucus--we should attend the caucus in order to put forward our views. The socialists have to find one another but not through a CCF--I think that it should be possible to raise the issue of the regroupment of the socialists not only in the CCF but with the socialists outside the CCF--with the Gagnon's, the Salaber's the Young's the SEL's/ For our part the LPP too, but at this stage there would be no purpose raising this--it would defeat our purpose.

It is this whole question, the ntl council's res. and the debate around it that compels us not to get involved in resolutions appealing to the movement to get back to the Regina Manifesto but to identify ourselves with resolutions committing the CCF to fight for legislation of the 40 hour week which the Sak Govt. defeated, which I did not see mentioned in the BC CCF convention or the Alta con. res. with the national council res. the question of the future program of the CCF fades away. At any rate these generalities mean nothing when the left is not in a position to apply the generalities--when the right is to write up the program. At best they only serve as a pulling together of leftists who unfortunately by and large as far as I can see are poplessly sectarian having no concept of a transitional program. we are interested in fighting for resolutions calling for immediate withdrawal of US forces from the middle East, under the mask of UN, opposing the equipment of Can. armed forces with Atom weapons, in supporting 30 for 40 acts, etc meaning a national campaign calling for the cessation of the H Bomb tests. There is some merit in attempting to win the CCF convention to these positions for this lays the foundations of the program of the new movement in the most favorable way. There is also the possibility that we may make some valuable contacts.

In my opinion the regroupment of socialist forces in Canada is the big issue and we should be alert to whatever possibilities reside in this convention.

I hope that you are able to get together a couple of times in the process of the convention and before leaving that you are able to make an evaluation of the whole thing. B. and V. will need your aid in pulling together material for the August issue of the Paper.

Signed Ross.

(K2 perhaps)

In general, RD's
politics

June 5, 1958

The Militant (SWP) (New York)

Dear Dan;

At the last meeting of the Toronto SWP the matter of the editorial entitled Labor Party Move in Canada may 26 was raised. It was decided that I should write you a letter and a letter for publication in the Militant.

We all know the value of any development ~~in~~ in Canada of an independent labor political action character to your work for a labor party in the US. This is obviously the main aim of the editorial in question. ~~However, the editorial is not a~~ A straight news report of the Canadian Labor Congress action would have been justifiably useful for this purpose. However this edit does not do this but speculates on "why did they do it?" meaning the Canadian union leadership.

You cannot talk about this question without mentioning the CCF. This of course presents some difficulties for in the CCF we do, or should I say did have a genuine farmer-labor party. It was endorsed since 1943 by the Canadian Congress of Labor which encompassed certain autonomous national unions and all the CIO unions. It was supported by broad layers of the secondary leadership of the Trade and Labor Congress which encompassed certain autonomous national unions and all the AFL unions. There is no doubt in most persons minds that had it been put before the United Canadian Labor Congress at its founding convention two years ago ~~that the CCF would~~ the CCF would have been endorsed as the united bodies political arm. But the CCF brass expressed the view that it would have at one blow severed the not yet form unity.

Subsequent to the founding convention which abstained from taking any position on political action both of the provincial bodies of the United Congress in Ontario and in BC, where labor is strongest in Canada, formally endorsed the CCF as labor's political arm.

This throws quite a different light on the resolution passed at the recent CLC convention. The CCF is a reality and had been endorsed by the main bodies of the Canadian labor movement yet the convention does not do we wrote what for our small paper is a fairly lengthy article on this matter in the May issue page 3. I am sure that the comrade who wrote that ~~article~~ edit in the Militant could not have read that article ~~concerning~~ or he would not have ventured onto grounds that he did.

The significance, the long range significance of the CLC action we left open, suggesting that given the developing crisis we will see a new broad labor party. The immediate significance--that is a horse of a different color. It looks like this action is sinking the CCF with nothing to take its place. It looks like we may the dissolution of the CCF into the capitalist reform party and the demoralization and destruction of a whole layer of workers who had dedicated much time and energy to the building of a reformist labor party.

what left there is in the CCF and our own comrades in BC see this motion as a stab in the back to the principle of independent labor political action. This morning I received information on the recent CCF convention in BC...it is possible with the crisis of Social Credit that the CCF will get elected there while everywhere else the Tories will be able to carry forward their federal sweep. A top CCL bureaucrat spoke at the opening sessions to the effect that the new party proposed by the last CCL convention would make no room for the independents---UK, mine mill and fisherman. The BC CCF while it is not at all under Socialist influence cannot go along with that--it could not get elected in all probability as many of the BC communities are dominated by locals of the latter two unions in particular. Whitney writes that "Fear was expressed that the new political formation to arise would limit and restrict both the socialist party and the socialist workers." This is no doubt the feeling of the left. It appears that an executive motion giving them authority to appoint a commission to negotiate terms on the matter with the CCL brass was amended to the effect that this convention elect from the floor the commission. According to Whitney's report--"From that moment the leadership (of the CCF) lost the initiative and the left wing took it up...."

I would say that the Tory federal electoral victory had much to do with the CCL motion but not at all as the editorial writer says--a move to meet an anti-labor offensive from the Tories. Not at all---it strengthened those who are opposed to political action by labor--demoralized those who have fought for it. ~~unimpairedly~~--all the opportunist can see no value in the Tories in for a lengthy period now in compromising their appeals to the government by having the CCF label on them

In your next ~~editorial~~ letters to the editor column it would be a good idea to clear up any misunderstandings that may arise from this editorial by the publication of the enclosed letter.

fraternally

ROSS BOWSON

Received your note on the over-supply you are receiving. Will cut the stereo matrix down to the two a week as you suggest...but will build up your one column personality file when the opportunity affords.

June 9, 1958.

65 #25
Dear Joe,

Received your letter couple of days ago-glad to hear that things are going along well.

An interesting election campaign going on here-voting takes place this Thursday. Ken Bryden's friends are carrying on a mealy-mouthed fight. The main issue to them-the party in power has been in too long. Had occasion to go into Bryden's riding on Monday nite and talked to a few of his co-thinkers. My general impression is one of apathy as far as they're concerned although I managed to convince one of the necessity to think about things. Joe was out Monday nite too visiting in the Dovercourt area. He bumped into four people who were also doing a little more thinking than usual about the issues involved. As a matter of fact Mondays for the past few weeks have been visiting days and most of my friends have been off and running. I suppose they'll keep this campaign up until the weather gets too hot and everybody goes on holidays. I guess you well remember the many pleasant hours we spent together last year at this time.

A group of us are going to a young peoples' camp this coming week-end. We are able to go by virtue of the fact that some of the group are members so are taking the rest along as "guests". If the weather holds, it is around 90 degrees at the moment, we should have a good week-end. Meals have been planned, work teams lined up for cooking and washing dishes and we will have a campfire, weiner roast, singsong, 1 minute debates, swimming etc. A couple of friends who are presently in Brantford working are coming for the week-end so that we can use their truck for transportation. Also have a few cars going up.

Alan, the one who has the truck has been doing very well out of town and signs so far would indicate that business will be as good as last year. John is getting to be a really crackerjack too. Since they are going out for short runs around Toronto at the moment they come for part of most weekends. I guess I'm at end of page without realizing. warmest regards,

June 15, 1958

(Batten)

Dear Bruce;

I am expecting to receive a letter from you on Tuesday or so after this week end but here are few items that you should be acquainted with.

Ernie received a lengthy letter from Borenstein on the 4th of this month. It is marked personal to Ernie so you must be sure that you never reveal acquaintance with it. He talks about his work in the creation of a youth movement. He says they now have about 35 activists and has high hopes for this fall.

"Concerning Gagnon and his forums--I'm not over optimistic. First of all I do not exactly approve of Gagnon's opportunism. At the beginning I thought that the forums would become a place where all left wing opinions could be exchanged and this might possibly have led to the formation of a Popular Front Party comprising all progressive sectors. As it stands Gagnon uses the forum for his recruiting ground for the Council. This policy which he doesn't often express consists in moving from revisionism to more revisionism."

He goes on to comment what we need is not a moderate socialist party but something more in tune with the brutality of the class struggle and the terrible plight of the workers--and states he feels rather ashamed about the iconoclastic speech he made at the forum--probably first one.

on

"Gagnon unlike his benevolent appearance is keeping the forum committee only the people who are subservient to him and excluding all others who are not dupes politically speaking." He says that there was an air of hypocrisy at the last forum--looked like Gagnon desired to join hands with the CCF--"It is possible he has changed his mind since then. You can see why I am so reluctant to associate with people who have such a bankrupt ideology. If I will be forced to join a revisionist movement I prefer to enter the CCF, they are better organized....I do not see what we can achieve by associating ourselves with such carrion as Gagnon, we certainly won't gain anything. The person who helped to wreck the LPP in Quebec will certainly want to stage similar games in the future and I do not wish to get involved in rotten games...."

"I desire to be frank with you Ernie and tell you that I only want to work towards a movement which will ideologically stem from Engels, Marx and Lenin--I am honestly not interested in petty bourgeois socialism."

He says there is a Gagnon cult around the forum--anything said always goes right back to Gagnon "That is why even if I wanted to work in the forum clique I would find it impossible."

received a note from Patterson

"With regard to my contribution (to forum on Soc and Democracy.) I be inclined to say that your case rests on what you understand by "pol" and accordingly what you understand by criticism. While appreciating comments I cannot but express my disagreement...."

"The discussions with Salsberg and Rosenthal and others appear to have

been successful. There is a good chance to get a combined socialist journal underway here. The only obstacle is the presence of old suspicions and enmities. Regardless of their historical basis, there is a growing realization that hostile attitudes and prejudices are out of place in the socialist movement; the days of "angling for positions" are gone, not through choice but rather necessity. Those who continue to maintain such attitudes, such as the LPP and portions of the CCF can only look forward to their eventual isolation. Most of the Toronto groups seem to realize this, but are all afraid to take the first step. I think our visit had a positive effect.... Sorry for the brevity but am due to be off on the third week end jaunt in a row early tomorrow morning and have a lot of work to catch up on before leaving.

§ § 4

So it would appear that things are moving faster than I at least had thought. Neither Gagnon or Patterson said anything about their efforts to get a journal underway when they were here on Sunday. Although talking the matter over with the comrades later I speculated that there was something much more than getting a forum underway here in Toronto and arranging to get the Rosenthal forum to split costs for a possible meeting for G.D.H. Cole behind their trip. Primarily we took the time out to talk about how we thought they should conduct themselves in order to get Salsberg off his seat and to utilize the Rosenthal to widen up and develop a real forum. But we did get into a discussion about program which set me somewhat uneasy. Mike later backed up by Henri said we have to give Salsberg and the Toronto people a program--I asked what kind--Gagnon made some general comments about the need to apply Marxism to the Canadian scene--develop a Canadian socialism. I pointed out that there would be no disagreement on this--everyone agrees with this. I stressed the fact that the forum hasn't got underway--that ~~the forum~~ a program was just what we did not need--we wanted discussion, interesting stimulating which would set things off. Maybe later we could raise it to a higher level such as the United Socialist ticket in NY is doing but we weren't near there in Toronto. I suggested that perhaps they were raising problems that may be confronting them in the Council of Socialist Clubs but they were not problems confronting the Toronto forum yet to be started off.. In the process of some explanations Gagnon commenting on differences that exist among socialists stated that ~~perhaps~~ on the question of nationalizations there maybe some who don't want to indemnify the capitalists and these people were going to assure that the transition therefore would be a violent one to socialism. It appeared to me that he understands his grave ideological shortcomings and the difficulties that the Council is facing and is searching for help from Salsberg and others with whom he understands he is much closer than us. They never phoned us before they left here and the short comment from Mike follows a note that I sent him for information.

Borenstein's comments are interesting. Have you had any talks with him and with Kinghorn. I suppose you noticed that Kinghorn sent a nice letter to the English Newsletter. It would appear that they feel themselves to be very close to us--and have developed a harsh evaluation of Gagnon and company. What is happening in the Council? Perhaps we will be faced with consolidating something around us--namely an SEL banner before we had intended it is obvious from Patterson's contribution ~~than~~ and incidental comment about some CCFers..and Gagnon's comment about indemnification that they are worried about our (your) contribution and about clearing themselves with the Leninist taint. By the way did you ever offer to give Mike Lenin's Proletarian Revolution and Rehegated Kautsky

but awaiting your letter

warmest regards ROSS

Montreal

July 1, 1958

Dear Wally;

Hate myself for not writing you before about other matters of concern to each of us---that this first note to you should have one real purpose which I will not beat around about--money.

But here we go. We are now needing money badly. Our financial drive wont be opening up until three months away and we have been spending heavily on the national tour, furthermore within the next month and a half we will be incurring big expenses--we are having to move probably to more expensive quarters which will require heavy investment to fix up etc. SOooooo I need some money from you

I have pulled together information from the various envelopes and accounts that we have around and here is how I have it

assortment of 5 books taken at various times-----8.40

May 4th--10.00 May 12 --1000, paid \$5 July 2-----15.00

Phone call Nov 23 2.35

Wired Sarnia 102.20

Paid August 16---25.00 borrowed Nov 25--50.00 25.00

152.95

I hope that this tally agrees with whatever accounting that you have kept. And if it is less than it should be of course we will gladly accept more. Now I would like it all ~~ex~~ now, however I know there are difficulties. Probably you cannot sell the car as you need it to go to work. Possibly you can borrow it. I dont know. But I do know that we need it and that you will do what is necessary. Let me know what the score is within the next day or so.

Harry

Your old side kick is living with me these days. And he is off again. He met quite a fine girl in Windsor during a short jaunt out that way and this looks like the real thing again. He will probably be writing you one of these days. This week end visit will be the big decision The national tour is going great guns. Harry, Pat Alan and Jerry covered Western Sothern Ontario and did very well, sold over 300 subs and met some very valuable contacts, mostly ex-LPPers. Harry came off when Ernie was able to go and this foursome is now just north of Sudbury somewhere. In the last two and a half weeks they have sold over 300 subs but they are complaining that they are not meeting as many good contacts as before when they get to Vancouver the plan is for me to join them and we will have a formal conference with the Vancouver comrades. I am enclosing a couple of snap shots. Got a much better truck this time. They have had no mechanical difficulty so far and there is much more room---room for four buying down..easting ,altogether quite comfortable. I am hoping that we can

ord to keep this truck when it gets back--that is if it gets back in
od enough condition. Everyone is busy here. Harry is not getting a job
but is working unemployment insurance so tat he can service the store.
We have a bit of a sub campaign of our own these days--so far we have p
picked up about 80 subs all in the Broadview area where we ran in the last
federal election.

Our Friday night classes are going great guns. We are getting 25 to
30 persons at all of them...and some of the comrades are developing very
well. Had a social at Pat and Jim's last Saturday in honor of Bunny. You will
be having an opportunity to really get to know Bunny now that she has gone
down to Montreal. It seems to me that she learned a great deal from the
school that she attended. This will ~~probably~~ make her much more effective
around the Socialist Forum group there in Montreal.

Have you been going around the political movement--around the Conseils
or around the youth group that the students have organized. Bruce keeps
us in touch with things general but has said nothing about your goings on.
Possibly you will be planning to come up here shortly. Do you know Charles
Kinghorn? He has written me that he plans to come up here some weekend in
Junly. Perhaps you could arrange to come with him and split the travelling
costs. We have facilities to put you up alright, even though Alan and Harry
and so to with Ernie and Hannah have given up their appartments.

warmest regards

Ross

July 5, 1958

The International Socialist Review
116 University Place
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Joe; (Hansen)

Meant to thank you long ago for the pile of ISR's that you sent us for use of the tour that we are conducting across the country. They are being put to very good use. I cant give you any statistics as yet but the comrades tie in the ISR with the Vanguard. Following attempts to get a subscription the ISR has top priority. Of course those two articles of yours on the the fight against war and the paths to Soviet democracy were made for the tour and workers who have been in and around the Stalinist movement.

The comrades are still in Ontario. They have been out a month now on their way out West. Their preliminary tour in Western Ontario before heading north was extremely rewarding in so far as contacting ex Stalinists. We have made somevery good connections. So far the comrades have sold between seven and eight hund red subscriptions. They have been picked up by the police and shown the inside of the jail house twice and denounced from the pulpit of a Catholic church once. No doubt it is all causing quite a furor in the circles of the left.

Now I would like to take advantage of your offer to send us some copies of the Spring 1958 ISR. About 75 copies would be very useful. You could mail them to this address and I will forward them to wherever they are or even take them out with me . I will be joining the tour at Vancouver late in August and coming back with it.

Next issue of Vanguard we plan to write up a review article on the Summer issue which we are all looking forward to receive any day now.

warmest regards

Ross

Sunday July 12, 1958

Dear Gagg;

The glorious twelfth. Ernie's blood must have been stirring that day. Our local Grandmen had their parade yesterday. I looked it over as I came up to the store along Yonge Street hoping to see Ford Brand and Bill Dennis so that I could shout out a couple of well-prepared catcalls but no luck, they weren't there. Possibly they were awaiting the paraders' arrival at the city hall cenotaph with Mayor Phillips.

Missed the letter you did not write for last Wednesday's meeting. I read both Ernies and large parts of Jerry's at the previous meeting and everyone enjoyed them very much. Of course all our contacts, friends and sympathizers, ask about you. As a matter of fact out of the blue last Friday following the class Bill Donovan gave me two bucks to send onto you to have a few beers. Drop him a card someone. Of course everyone goes over the cards--all of Alan's cards. But what the hell is Pat pulling that silent William set on us for. Not a word from him! You know silent William was a senator in the *Adm. Senate* for about 22 years and all that time he served the people well by never uttering so much as a word. Is he saving all the words up for the contacts? Cut his share of the grub if he doesn't write. Why should we tax payers pay out good money out

Of course then again your letters, particularly when they are informative have a bad demoralizing effect on the branch. No one thinks we are doing anything of any importance down here any more. For instance, Ken in reporting that Charlie asked him to raise his membership in the branch again, told us on Wednesday that he told Charlie that he should leave it over until the fall for after all we weren't doing anything of much importance here in Toronto right now. So perhaps you shouldn't send those letters. Think it over.

political Had a visitor in the store just before we closed up last Saturday. He was really stinko and as it was a quarter to ten I was getting a little impatient. But it turns out to be a Hamilton trade union activist who had just come in town from some union gathering at White Sands (this is a camp up north owned now by one of the AFL unions). He made, it would appear, a real point despite his condition to come around to see us. You met him on the tour and sold him a sub. He liked the paper but it appears that he wanted to know what we really believed. He had up until very recently been in the CP. "a was really impressed by you guys. He wanted to know if I was incorruptible. A very incoherent discussion. I sold him US Road and a couple of other items by the old man which he was highly prejudiced against but which I shamed him into buying. Which shows to go you. I got ~~his name~~ and told Fred--Fred recognized it.

Here is what we have received recently--since the last tally--and sent out to you.

June 27---2 envelopes Sault Ste Marie--33-lyr 50 -6mth--1-2year
June 30 mailed to Timmins-Commonwealth, Newsletter, Young Soc
July 2 Miled to Timmins-50 Young Soc June 30 Militant
July 2--received from Sudbury 27-6mth, 34-lyr, 1-2 yr
July 2 Harry sent you a letter to Kirgland Lake
July 4 received from Timmins 35-6mth, 17-lyr
July 7 sent Cochrane-Tribune, Peace News, Commonwealth, Newsletter
July 8 received from Timmins 29-lyr, 41-6mth, 1-2yr
July 10 sent Fort William Newsletter, Militant, Labor Review, Tribune
July 11-sent 100 copies Vanguard to Fort William
July 11-sent 3 parcels of Vanguards to Winnipeg, via post

Kept enough Vanguards here to cover CCF N.E. Convention, Hamilton, 1958, 2-11-58, 1958

re the Vanguards--Some copies of this issue have a bad error--between my approving of the galley proofs and the laying out of the page, ^{where} there had been no error one cropped up. The box on page two reporting the resolution passed by the Hamilton East CCF club has been mucked up. The first line explaining what the box is was dropped out and while I was waiting for the binder to give us the papers for the mailing I noticed it. Stopped the presses but a lot had been run off. The bulk of the papers if not all in the bundle sent to Fort William are alright and should be held for sub work. Amongst the three bundles sent to Winnipeg you will find one with big Xs marked on the wrapper. The bulk of this bundle is alright. Also in this bundle are what is left of the previous issue which I figure you should use for distribution in Winnipeg.

I think you have a good issue in the July issue for contact and sub work. Unfortunately we were not able to do many or ^{any} of the things that I took up on your behalf at the editorial board meeting. One of the problems is that what with our colonization in Hamilton and Montreal we are becoming a national paper. Bruce sent the item on Duplessis in, and although we had enough light stuff ~~with~~ with Bunny's rats and the column we had to run it. Although the Hamilton resolution is weak in many respects it is useful to work on CCFers with. You need material of this sort for Winnipeg and Sask. Fortunately that the Manitoba election gave us a front page article. If I had another copy I would send you a copy of the Ontario CCF News--they are publishing outright lies about the Manitoba results. So of course is the Sask paper. The truth is of course that the CCF didn't make any real headway--running 19 more candidates and getting only 14,310 more votes. I thought that the all-in conference call to plan for the next election was a good talking point for you. So you have CCF material, regroupment material, some good anti-capitalist material on housing and union problems and to top it off all that stuff on Nagy. You will recognize that the Nagy material is only Canadian and different copy--it was ~~not~~ good that I didn't see any point in our working up anything, particularly since it would be inferior. This too is good material for door work as it distinguishes us from the Stalinists--and it is powerful material for Stalinists to come in contact with. I hope that the tour column meets your approval. I think that the next column which you should write from Winnipeg as soon as you get there should deal with some of your experiences from an on the spot angle. You get that subsidy--the next column which you should write. The Nagy stuff forced out an edit and several other items we had planned at the editorial board meeting.

At anyrate there it is--for better or for worse. Let us know your criticisms. I think that the cartoon is a good one even though it doesn't get over for door to door work--I would think you have to read the inserted newscast. But you can talk to people about atomic energy for peace. Will try to help Hannah to do better next time. Possibly we should run a couple of Ritch-Bitch cartoons on the back for the next few issues. They get across easily. The nuclear arms edit I think is very useful. The layout is good except for too much ital on page 3. The column is too long and wordy I think but effective for sub work. There may well be some repercussions with BC over the CCF convention item. They presented it as much more left than the final article made up of bits and snatches from Auth Reg and Bill's contributions. Imagine a convention that can't take a position on a motion calling for a moratorium on mortgage debt of unemployed and one that fails to develop any immediate demands on unemployment. The right wing it seems to me saw no reasons to get excited over the gestures of the left--this sectarian left. The section on the Regina Manifesto taken from Reg's contribution is quite one-sided for there was no repudiation of the "Winnipeg Declaration" in fact the motion endorsed both--and on top of that it is who writes the program that really counts. They oppose NATO for the UN. My impression is that the leadership decided not to really

oppose the left gestures as they are no longer concerned about this left, and the CCF itself--The new party is on the way. There was a PAC city-wide rally here in Toronto a week or so ago and it seems that the brass are really going to move out--they are faced with possible elections in both Ontario and BC, the two key areas. Archer and co ridiculed those who are wanting to hold onto the CCF name. They have had a series of conferences in this area working out many of the details in ways satisfactory to them

But time is getting on--was pulled away from this letter by Paddy and Max who are at last getting down to the tape recorder on the Canadian revolutionary socialist history. Was on about an hour giving them names from our files to refresh Mac's memory.

Yes, I think you are moving too fast. I think you should have gone into Larder Lake, Noranda, more Kirkland Lake, because we are faced with problems on the return trip, and not the question of it being too cold in the truck. Time Time. I am afraid that we will have difficulty putting out the paper without me alas. Then too there is a lot of work to line up for the Fall activity of the Toronto branch which is very important. I don't know how well we will be settled down in our new place and we will have three of the most active people away. I know there is the time factor going West too. But ~~if you go to places like Cobalt, Kapuskasing, Smooth Rock Falls, Dryden~~ are twice as important as 99% of the places you will come across in the West. Outside of Winnipeg in Manitoba there is nothing but Brandon. In Sask there is only Regina Saskatoon and Moose Jaw and possibly Swift Current. And if you take the north route you will only hit Saskatoon. For instance a place like Portage La Prairie is just a widening in the road, there is no industry, whereas as small as some of these Ontario towns may be they are solidly proletarian industrial unionized towns. Kenora which Jerry writes in his last letter "we don't want to spend any time in is more important than any place in Manitoba other than Winnipeg. It is a railway and logging town, we have some good leads there. Of course the hoosiers on the trip don't know that, perhaps, but that chap Alan Harris knows that very well. We shouldn't go ~~fixing it~~ off the main highways in between the main objectives in the West to see anyone--but just follow up ~~the names~~ the names in any town which we have to pass through. This will cut our time down to our stops in these main communities such as Edmonton Calgary Saskatoon plus in effect what is travelling time plus little

When you get into Winnipeg wire me a line immediately telling me how much money you have. You will be a week there perhaps. We should decide whether to go up to Saskatoon via Melville, Yorkton, Wynard, Watrous which we have never ever done or go onto Regina then up to Saskatoon on the basis of how much money we have. You can make money in Regina, and we can do it both out and back but you can't anywhere else once you leave Brandon. When you get to Saskatoon wire Lloydminster at once. When you leave Lloyd wire Bankiat Entwistle. He will want to come into Edmonton I think as there are some real possibilities there now for us. Bystrom sent in \$50

Sorry but I don't think I should take any more time ~~in~~ this letter much as I would like to tell you of many interesting developments down this way as I want to be sure to have the Prairie book in top shape for mailing to you first thing tomorrow morning to Kenya. Claire has been doing some work on it but I want to go through it quickly and enclose a bit of a commentary for you.

All quiet on the Amalgamated front but looking forward to seeing Pat back here to give us a hand moving. Out tomorrow to look for a place again. There seem to be many more vacancies but haven't yet seen just what we want.

We will mail July issue to new subs according to what you tell us you are using

Warmest regards on behalf of everyone including Pat's sister and Alan's mother

Sunday July 12, 1958

39
nce

Dear Jerry;

I gather that all our personal relations are of the best from my little incidental enquiries of Ruth and Hannah and close scrutiny of your letters to the office here. I hope Ernie is not missing Hannah too much. ---I am trying to keep her busy and she seems to be bearing up alright-- although it is too bad that Ruth is continuing to stay up at her mothers and Hannah is bacheloring it at Homewood. And did Alan flick an eyelash over the report of Bonny's marriage. Bonny came down to a meeting a couple of weeks ago to ask for a transfer and to tell us of her marriage. She was in the store with her husband and Marion Birch yesterday. When I asked her where she had been keeping herself since I attended her wedding reception she told me that she and her husband had among other things of course had long political discussions. Hannah had a bit of a political talk with her husband before I managed to get to the reception and she tells me that he is a hard Stalinist although it was apparent from my subsequent talks with him that he is completely inactive politically and doesn't even have a perspective of political activity. When in the store Bonny gave him a couple of peices of literature which he hastily discarded. Bonny is such a sincere and honest person and seems so social in her outlook that this arrangement doesn't look too good, however it is no doubt best that nothing be said to Alan about this.

Ruth came over here about five or six days ago somewhat agitated and anxious to have a talk with me. It seems that when Bunny was in here and staying at your place that they all got into a discussion about you and Ernie and your returns. It appears that Ruth had an agreement with you sworn on Volume I of Capital that upon your return you would immediately get a job and would barring layoffs and other acts of God, keep your nose to wage labor for a boss for a couple of years until Paul was older. Apparently she had the impression that upon your return and during my absence that Bunny was going to look after things around the store here. Bunny let her know otherwise. Her immediate conclusion was that you had deceived her, told her a little white lie and that your intentions all along have been to get back into the store--and let me tell you she was hot--red hot

I did my best to smooth things over. I did tell her that we had made no formal decisions at all ~~with regard to~~ of a long range character but that it was true that I had more or less taken for granted that you would look after things until I returned at anyrate. But she looks upon even a temporary arrangement until I return as the thin edge of a decision that you will be back here permanently. I told her that it was not at all ~~that~~ that I knew nothing of your agreements and that we could make other arrangements upon my return and possibly even before I left for someone else to fill in till my return, allowing you to get out for a job at once.

I told her that in all probability we would have to have another full time person here--what with the successes of the summer classes, and the way things are pining up for us it is fairly obvious. That I personally thought you best suited but that it was to be decided by the branch. Yes there was another person possibly--that is Ernie who wants to work for the party and has undeniable abilities and would possibly be chosen by the

the branch. At anyrate we left it with me trying to assure her that you had not carried out any deception, that I did not know who would be the organizer, that I respected her feelings about the whole matter and that I felt sure that we were in a position to make satisfactory arrangements to meet the movements needs--that we could no doubt even get someone in to handle things until my return--she suggested Harry. and as a matter of fact I have since spoken to Harry about this. He has lots of unemployment insurance credits. I told him I thought that he could handle it--that you could handle the book ordering--what little might be necessary--and help him on Saturdays etc and then in the evenings with the League's work. He is highly agreeable.

I think that it was the next day or so that she told me that she had been thinking it over and that she did not see why you could not be organizer, and could we pay \$20 a week? I said of course we would have to, if not more, and she went on to say how it wasn't that she wanted to stand in the way of the party and your ambitions but that she just had to know where she stood--with you she never knew where and what kind of situation she was going to be in next--she wanted regularity.

At anyrate here is the score--Harry is willing to work the store and whatever he can with your help--allowing you to get a job--until I return. Now the question of who is going to be Toronto branch organizer. You have a serious problem which must be taken into account---~~that is a very serious problem~~ Perhaps a year or two isn't so important that you should not give with the pressure and get a job--after all you were able to do some excellent work in the shops you were in. There is no doubt in my mind that you are most qualified to be organizer but after all we are not in this thing for this year or next but for keeps. I think you should give this matter very serious consideration and we can talk it over when we get there. I don't know how serious we can take Ruth's sudden little change. She followed it up one night by suddenly coming into the kitchen on Hannah and asking "well, who is it going to be this fall Ernie or Jerry?" How is Ernie ~~being~~ along on the tour? I am really glad he joined it because I think he needed something like this badly. One of the big problems with Ernie I think is his lack of discipline--he is very badly organized, he has the best of intentions but forgets things, misplaces them, delays--I feel that he is also a bit erratic. I think it would be very good if on the tour you very consciously thrust responsibilities onto him--of course not so that it looks like you are shirking yours...but have him make decisions, thrust him out on his own. You know how you and I for that matter tend to assume all the responsibilities, confident that we can do them best, and let others sort of come along if they wish. Ernie is not ~~handling~~ even used to buying things...imagine I find that he did not even get a receipt for the money that he made as a deposit on an apartment. He is sort of out of the hard realities of this world. I think that with your help this tour could have a great impact on Ernie and putting us in a more flexible position with regards to the party's personnel.

Ruth seems to be getting along very well. She is very active in the sub work. She attends all the meetings, She got a short haircut and looks fine.

Warmest regards

Tear this letter up eh what. And did you get a scotchier that she said she wrote you after talking to Bunny--she was undecided about mailing it. When you write her be sure that you give her no inkling of the content of this note

1958 Aug13

OUR IMMEDIATE TASKS

by Ross Dowson

The Canadian revolutionary socialists must present their views on the broadest arena possible and build their own forces as rapidly and as firmly as possible regardless of the form through which they work — whether they function as militants in a union, socialists in the right-wing reformist CCF (Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, forerunner to the NDP), collaborators in the centrist Council of Socialist Clubs, or independently, organized as the Socialist Educational League (SEL.). Whatever the arena we are now working in — all in the direction of building the mass independent revolutionary vanguard party — the key issue confronting the forces of Canadian Trotskyism today is what has become known as regroupment.

With the decline of the CCF as a national movement and its virtual liquidation into the projected Canadian Labor Congress farmer-labor party, and the continuing crisis of the Labor Progressive Party (the Stalinist LPP) which has been our main contestant for the adherence of the revolutionary socialist inclined worker, the conditions are extremely favorable for:

- 1) immediately recruiting to our organization — the Trotskyist organization.
- 2) overcoming old prejudices against us and misunderstandings about us. Establishing contact with socialists who heretofore have looked to the CCF and the LPP for political guidance and as a milieu for socialist activity. Increasing the influence in general of our ideas.
- 3) changing in a very fundamental way the whole relationship of forces between ourselves and those forces which directly or indirectly are in contest with us for the leadership of the Canadian working class thus assuring that in the coming battles we will be in a much better position to bring about the fundamental regroupment that will transform us into a mass party, assure us hegemony over the class which we will lead to the establishment of a socialist Canada in a socialist world.

Our most powerful weapon in this arena is our press, THE WORKERS VANGUARD. It is the only Canadian national press that has been able to take a correct position on regroupment. Not only is it the sole promoter of regroupment which corresponds to and concretizes the genuinely progressive feelings for a meaningful unity amongst the workers, it is also the sole source of information of the really significant regroupment developments in Britain and the United States and the strivings in this direction in Montreal. It is the sole defender of the forces that are the regroupment potential from the slanders of the CCF and the Stalinist leadership. All other Canadian papers circulating through the Left, the Canadian Tribune, the three CCF papers and the tiny sectarian Press and SLP (De Leon's Socialist Labor Party) paper, stand athwart this regroupment process.

Every effort must be made to increase the circulation of the VANUARD, in the CCF, the trade unions, the co-ops, the Council of Socialist Clubs, the LPP, openly and on a broad plane or on a personal contact basis — under whatever circumstances we work. The circulation of THE

VANGUARD is an essential task of all socialists who are looking to the regroupment of the revolutionary socialists.

Whatever shortcomings the VANGUARD might have in respect to this work in particular must be overcome through the common efforts of our forces.

Where we do not at present have them we must create organizational forms and through these forms launch practical activities that will permit us to promote, expedite, with utmost energy and effect the whole process of regroupment of the forces of Canadian socialism.

In Montreal the main field of activity is not the CCF which is extremely weak, right-wing reformist, composed in the main of English speaking petty bourgeois, not at all attractive to the working class, not to speak of viable leftists. We must concentrate our energies in the Council of Socialist Clubs and the Montreal Socialist Forum. The Council encompasses in its ranks the best elements of what was the Quebec Labor Progressive Party, in particular its French-speaking members. If there is doubt about the direction of the Council as a whole there is no doubt that there are elements there who are definitely moving in our direction. The Forum is an attractive force for all critically minded CCFers and LPPers and workers in the Montreal area who are thinking in terms of socialism for the first time.

We have been doing effective work in this milieu with our press, our literature and in discussion. Without appearing to be in competition with the Council of Socialist Clubs we are preparing to launch a series of classes which will draw the best elements closer to us and allow us to develop them as rounded Trotskyists.

In Toronto, work in the CCF clubs has become less and less important. There is a left but only in a relative sense not in any meaningful political sense, no viable left. There is no club which by a unique character of its own, a leftist tradition or a concentration of leftists in its ranks has proven able to overcome the impact of the degeneration of the movement as a whole. While within a short time after the 1954 expulsions, through our semi-independent activities we were able to more than make up our forces in the CCF; it has become a profitless field of work.

The popular forums and classes which the SEL has sustained since its organization have been an attraction for CCFers who look upon themselves as socialists and find no intellectual life or activity in the Toronto CCF circles. The broad socialist propaganda campaigns, the contesting of municipal elections, our candidatures in Hastings-Frontenac and Broadview not only present Trotskyism as a political force in Canada but have provided a practical demonstration to CCF supporters, to LPPers, of how to conduct a principled working class campaign and an activity where socialists who have broken from the CCF and LPP can collaborate with us.

The major activity of the Socialist Educational League has been and should continue to be in the direction of stimulating the whole regroupment process — in particular Salsberg and other leading ex-LPPers to move out and take on some practical tasks which will consolidate in the regroupment atmosphere which is extremely favorable in Toronto due to the widespread disaffection of LPP forces. The Sobell meeting and now the Harold Davies meeting, the extensive contact work that has been done amongst LPPers, are practical actions along this line.

In Hamilton which we have recently colonized, Lloydminster and other places where our forces are extremely weak our work will have to be developed in detailed consultation with the comrades immediately involved, but needless to say the regroupment appeal is most effective in the overcoming of isolation.

At our last conference in Vancouver with specific respect to our work in Vancouver and the British Columbia area we adopted the following decisions:

“Resolved that at points outside of Vancouver where we are at present lacking a viable Left we follow a policy of promoting the building of Vanguard supporter groups.”

“That the Vancouver Branch endeavour to recruit dissident Stalinists and the direction given them be to extend our work in the LPP and there to develop and maintain a faction as long as it is fruitful to do so.”

There were also some informal discussions amongst leading comrades immediately following the conference on such projects as setting up a Vanguard office in a central location stocked with the basic literature of our movement and serviced by an able comrade pulled out of the CCF who could give leadership, direction and co-ordination to any clubs that we were able to set up in BC. Subsequent to this there were serious investigations into the setting up of a bookstore which would be attractive to dissident LPPers who are not at all attracted to the CCF and to CCFers whom we could thereby bring into contact with our full program, allowing us to have a higher political experience than the movement permits and thereby easing the way to recruitment into our ranks.

Nothing concrete to our knowledge has yet come of these decisions of some two years ago and of the subsequent discussions and investigations. Yet regroupment possibilities would appear to be as favorable, if not more favorable on the West Coast, as elsewhere in Canada.

Many radicals in British Columbia have had an extensive experience in the CCF, have left it, and do not see any perspective for socialist work not to speak of building a left wing in that movement. The LPP has been relatively very influential in BC political life — and we are in the unique position of having comrades who have had important connections with this movement.

Whereas in Britain it is both practical and meaningful to present the Labor Party to advanced workers as not only a profitable arena of work but as the instrument of regroupment — the movement out of which the mass revolutionary socialist party will arise — this cannot now at all said of the CCF, even with the leftist coloration that it has on the West Coast. The concentration of all our forces in the CCF deprives us of the possibility of freely moving in the regroupment atmosphere. It would be wrong to even attempt to present an ultimatum to LPP dissidents and to CCF dissidents, that the CCF is THE arena and the ONLY arena of operations for socialists.

It is necessary to devise new methods of work and new organizational forms that will permit us to freely move in the regroupment atmosphere, that will permit us to promote with the excellent material at hand the regroupment of the left in B. C.

The crisis of the CCF and the crisis of the LPP present us with opportunities to build our forces and to extend our influence as never before. We must break with old habits of thought add routine to boldly take advantage of the situation.

August 13, 1958

October 15, 1958

Dear Comrades;

The completion of the national tour saw the VANGUARD established as a much more powerful factor in Canadian politics than ever before. Our paid up circulation (the tour won something over 1,700 new subscriptions) is the highest since the days of working class militancy in the 1946-47 period. The quality of the subscriptions is very high - we established more and firmer points of contact with CCF leftists and ex-CCF leftists, with Lppers and LPP dissidents than ever before. Much was done to promote the tendencies favoring the regroupment of Canada's socialists and in the process to establish our press as the voice of regroupment.

It is now necessary to put a firm base under the Vanguard from a financial point of view, to sustain it on its present level of circulation and to make it possible within the next period to seriously consider publication on a more frequent basis.

Last Fall's financial drive saw us realize the considerable objective of \$1,750.00. Despite the effect of unemployment on our ranks the NC considers it necessary and practical to raise our sights to the \$2,000 mark. The forces of Canadian Trotskyism have been added to and strengthened over the past year. Our connections and our influence have been considerably widened over the past year also.

Our Vancouver comrades have already pledged themselves to raise considerably more than last year. We have already received some unsolicited donations. Slightly more than \$7 from a new very close friend in Granbrook followed the tour across the country to arrive at the center at the same time as our comrades.

The making of this ^{objective} ~~year~~ is the number one task before our movement. The campaign will be a short two months--from October 15 to December 15. It is necessary therefore to immediately commence accumulating contributions and forward them into the office.

fraternally

Ross Dowson
for the National Committee

Correspondence- Letter from Comrade ~~XXXX~~. He will be in Toronto from Nov. 19 to Dec. 1. Then he will return to ~~XXXX~~. Agreed to hold public meeting on week end of Nov. 22/23th. Agreed to contact Langley in Montreal and see if we can arrange public meeting for Healy on 19th or 20th.

Montreal -Maximilian- Letter from Langley read which indicated that Gagnon group is favourable to the idea of a mimeographed discussion bulletin with the English edition being put out by us.

Kent reported that he had written to Gagnon proposing that we do the mimeographed bulletin. He also gave brief report of the tour and enclosed the Buck article with a few comments on its great importance for all of us.

It was agreed that the 3 comrades now in Montreal should constitute themselves a branch with regular meetings, an agenda etc. It should not be an open branch at this time.

Ottawa-Agreed that we write Comrade J.L. and see if it is possible to organize a discussion circle with 2 close contacts we have there.

Buck letter - Discussion on how to best take advantage of this important attack on us. Agreed that we answer Buck's attack with a major article in Vanguard also that Kent contact J.B. Salsberg and see if we can get him to challenge Buck to ~~make~~ a debate on this issue. Failing this it was agreed that Kent contact C. Sims and see if he will challenge Buck.

Election-Agreed that we run 4 candidates in the coming municipal elections. One for Board of Control and 3 for Aldermen.

Tate Case-Excellent class line on the case taken by Rev. Jenkins of the Unitarians and the good publicity these statements received have created a first class civil liberties case for us. Agreed that Tate see Jenkins and then see his lawyer regarding finances of case etc.

November 2, 1958

Dear Gerry; (McKinney)

Good to hear from you. And suprised that we find you in Brandon. You were probably there when Ernie Tate and I passed through on the way back from the tour. We stopped in on Brandon, had supper there and while Ernie was getting the truck fixed I went around to 12th Street North-- those addresses you gave us. I did not have the names of the persons you gave us but did just straight door to door sub work. Picked up a couple of subs then when we got together as night fell in order to call around on the people you recommended we found that I had actually gone to their doors but it so happened that both Harkot and Bedowich were out. We were in a hurry--as it was we met four inches of snow and about 4 degrees below freezing from Port Arthur write down to North Bay and we were sleeping in the back of the truck---so we did no more in the town of Brandon. But there were a couple of other persons we would have seen had we the time.

Here they are

Hans Fries-Suite 7 Sanatorium--had the paper up to
issue no 20--latest is no 35
Sam Johnson-23 Princess--know nothing about him
Lawrence Stucky-know nothing--address probably in phone bk
Dr Johnson--341--13th Street sub expired no 20-I believe
this man was around the Stalinists
Andre Laplante-538 16th sub expired with 22--a friend
of Harry Paine's--a soldier I think

Perhaps you could drop around and see them sometime in the next period. As a matter of fact when first I heard that you had pulled out for the West I was profoundly disappointed. I had hoped that we could get to know one another much much better. There is nothing like being in a functioning branch...to get the fell of our ideas. However Brandon is by no means the worst of places, particularly since it is not too far from Winnipeg.

We came in contact with some excellent people when in Winnipeg this time. I am hoping that you can get in to see them --you would be very welcome. I am thinking particularly of a fellow named Coleridge Phillips and a young fellow who lives with Phillips and his wife--Jerry. Phillips lives at 253 Forest. His nickname is Trotsky--it seems that he took Trotsky's position on China away back in the twenties--he also bears some resemblance to Trotsky although he is a Negro. He has not been active in the socialist and labor movement many real sense since the war--yet he is quite a young man--about 55. I am hoping that he can be inspired to start a study group--pull together the material out of which can arise a functioning socialist cell in the important city of Winnipeg. He is an educated worker but somewhat rusty after being away so long but if you could get into Winnipeg occasionally you could inspire him forward and give him whatever aid you can. I am sending him a complete list of all the subs that we picked up there and will be suggesting that he call a meeting inviting anyone and everyone to attend. Before you go into see him give him a call by phone--Ed 9-1355

Keep this number as he is not listed in the phone book. It is best to call him as he is often out of town and at odd times as he is a porter. Call him anyway the next evening or so--tell him your one of us--he will be pleased to hear you and arrange a get together. There are several other people there whom you should meet but he is the starter I think. I will send you word about some others.

How does the Winnipeg job appear to be panning out. As important as the INCO development will be in the north, I am hoping that the Winnipeg situation jells--this will give us a wider field of operations, in order to search out the revolutionary socialists. You would be able to move around ~~Winnipeg~~ LPP and CCF besides trade union activities--then of course we have already got some good contact in Winnipeg. Of course the Inco project is tempting too--I would imagine that there are few better types to work among than hard rock miners--~~miners~~. First thing off there will be a big struggle between Steel and Mine Mill. That was one hell of a situation where the Mine Mill local at Trail by referendum vote defeated a motion to give one days pay to the INCO strikers at Sudbury eh-what.

The tour was a great success. Jerry is right now at work on a report that we plan to mimeograph and send out to all the better elements that we met. We got over 1,700 subs, set up a bookstore in Vancouver, a regroupment forum is well underway there. We held some excellent meetings--in Winnipeg two in Vancouver one which we promised not to print about in Cranbrook which was a running discussion between myself and Leo Nimsick--leftist CCF MLA. But the best testimonial is to its importance and success is an article by Buck in the Nov 3 issue of the Tribune. This is his message on the celebration of the 41st Anniversary of the Great Russian Revolution-- "It would be a serious mistake, he warns " to allow the small numbers of the Trotskyite revisionist cabal to be considered a reason to ignore their activity." Imagine Buck charging anyone else with revisionism and disruption and splitting of the Canadian socialist ranks---he takes the cake for this for all time.

Glad to hear that you will be marrying shortly and better still that the girl is much inclined to our viewpoint---. I have shown the comrades your note and they are looking forward to hearing from you regularly. Right now they are in the midst of rounding up some cash to finance the paper and if you can give us a hand it would be much appreciated. We are also getting ready to enter into this years Toronto elections on a big scale. We will be running several candidates--Hugh is putting the brass on the spot--his local has endorsed him as a candidate for alderman in Ward 11. The labor council brass won't like this--nor the CCF either. Ernie will probably be running also--and he is a most important civil rights case right now.

Have sent in your sub to the Militant--and entered your Vanguard sub--the dollar overclears the ISR's I sent you. Looking forward to hearing from you

fraternally

Ross Dowson

November 3, 1958

Henri Gagnon

Dear Comrade Henri;

Should have written you long ago and by all rights I should come down to Montreal to tell you about some of the highlights of our national tour, the situation from the point of view of the left across Canada and so forth, however we are really pressed for time right now. A lot of material has been accumulating here over the two months of my absence, there are many threads to be picked up from the tour and we have big plans on the horizon with regards to the November 17 nominations for the Toronto civic elections. Jerry Houle is working up a report of the tour which we intend to mimeograph and circulate amongst the many friends that we have made--we will certainly send you some copies.

Possibly the best testimony as to the impact of the tour is Buck's special missile addressed to all who will listen to him on the 41st anniversary of the Russian Revolution--possibly you saw it in the Nov 3 issue of the Tribune. "It would be a serious mistake," he warns, "to allow the small numbers of the Trotskyite-revisionist cabal to be considered a reason to ignore their activity." I hope you have picked up copies of this infamous article. We will be doing a nice educational job on it in the next issues of the Vanguard.

I received a letter the other day from Vancouver that a preliminary meeting to launch a regroupment forum in the city of Vancouver has been held. I do not have the details on it as yet but I do know that Rodney Young is solidly behind it, (he has a small group), the CCF candidate in the last federal election for Coast-Capilano, Hugh Clifford attended, Margaret Erickson, an able woman and the leading activist in the Stanley Park club of the CCF. Malcolm Bruce was there and he is indeed a vigorous man. I had a long talk with Angus McKean and if his health does not prevent him he will have been there. The situation in Vancouver is extremely favorable for a regroupment forum--there are more unattached radicals in Vancouver than in any place we visited. We established our first good contact in Winnipeg this tour, there was one chap in particular, Coleridge Phillips who we have every reason to expect will work closely with us on this regroupment ~~work~~--he is anxious to start on a modest basis with a discussion circle. Perhaps you know him as he lived for sometime in Montreal--he is a Negro, works on the railroad, was very active in the left in the thirties--he has always been an independent revolutionary socialist--a very knowledgeable man, particularly on the colonial struggles. The situation is extremely good in Edmonton. There our tourists met E.W. Kemp, no doubt you know him--I recall a couple of contributions to NAM. He is no longer in the LPP but is still interested in doing something--particularly in the arena of regroupment.

However, Henri, it is not my intention to substitute this letter for the report that comrade Houle is working on. I am beating him to the gun because I feel that it is important that we get to work to carry the effort of the national tour forward. Just before leaving for Vancouver I received the forum's communication with regards to a bulletin or magazine. Can we

get working on this project. We are pretty well flat what with the tour expenses and our projected election expenses, but then at the time I thought that a printed magazine was a little beyond the means of our common forces anyway. We have a mimeograph machine that works here and people that can type. I understand that several contributions have come in for the magazine. I would probably be able to add a contribution. The SEL would be happy to mimeograph the English edition

Are there any public forums being arranged in the next period. Possibly I could come down right after the municipal elections here on December the first I think.

Could you bring the contents of this letter to the attention of the forum committee.

warmest regards

Ross Dowson

November 4, 1958

Winnipeg Man

Dear Coleridge, Jerry, and I suppose I will have to write Mrs Pphillips and I do not recall your name;

Well you will have seen that we arrived back alright for it was only after dropping me off and parking the truck that Ernie was picked up by the Toronto police--and thus we were thrust into an important civil rights case. This situation has been going along for a long time now but this time they picked up the wrong man. We are appealing the case--as a matter of fact we have an appointment with the lawyer this afternoon. It is not only a civil rights case but from a strictly legal point of view it is causing quite a stir in legal circles. The judge in this case has defined vagrancy not as a condition but as an act--an act that Ernie he alleged committed in some way at the point of his being stopped by the cops.

This among other things has prevented me up until this moment from dropping you a line, to thank you for your hospitality and our pleasure at meeting all three of you. As you can see from the enclosed page from the Canadian Tribune, the tour was a considerable success. No one has to take our word here is Tim Buck's opinion--his special appeal to all who will listen to him to celebrate the 41st anniversary of the October Revolution with a campaign against "Trotskyite-revisionism. Imagine the biggest confusionism and revisionist of the doctrines of revolutionary Marxism calling anyone else a revisionist. Do you think that he will commence the ideological struggle that he calls for by helping us to hold ~~discussion~~ discussion forums across the country. We would be pleased to discuss any and all the views that he claims the Trotskyist-revisionisms are spreading around. We will be taking this material up in some detail in the coming issue of Vanguard. But it is is it not quite a testimony on the effectiveness of the tour. Since Buck is no question a man of the highest Marxist integrity I am going to have to do some sleuthing myself about certain of the details of the tour. I got down as far as Seattle where I worked like hell to get American socialists on the election ticket but never got right down the coast to Frisco. I am going to have to check up on the boys about this--I do recall taking six or seven hours out for sleep one night--perhaps it happened then. ~~There were no more to be seen~~ Then too totally unknown to me some of the crew that made the tour were not 100% ers-- according to Buck it was a heterogeneous group of Trotskyites and revisionists. I am going to have to look in on that too.

I am afraid the old man is going to have no peace, and Khrushchev's is giving him none with the incredible campaign of abuse that is being waged against one tiny little novel written by Pasternak. We are getting geared up here for the coming municipal elections. We are planning on running four and possibly five candidates in the name of the Socialist Educational League--nomination day is only ten or so days off. It is not excluded that we will have a bigger slate than the LPP--here in Toronto it is all their public figures that have left them. I doubt that Ryerson will be running--she was their last person in Toronto civic office and she got defeated last year. Rumour has it that she and Sims are the two who are talking about forming a new party. She recently stepped off the LPP executive. There is going to be another interesting little do around the candidature of my brother. He has been endorsed by the DeHavilland local of the UAW for alderman in Ward II--and the question will automatically come up for endorsement before the labor council. Hard to say how the

trade union brass will handle this. We hope to put on a real campaign for socialism. We will probably put out a separate leaflet for each Ward on each candidate and then tie them all in with a special edition of the paper

well how did you find all the material that we left and what Jerry sent to you from here. We would be pleased to take up any items that you think worthwhile--either discuss via the mail or send you further material in book or pamphlet form on any question.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ I am picking this letter up again on November 9th. You know there is a great wealth of material available. Trotsky and the revolutionary Marxist movement generally carried on a massive educational work to uphold the doctrine against all its traducers. That is what Trotsky himself saw as his most important task. He comments in one of his writings in which he defends Bolshevism against the charge that Stalinism is its inevitable outgrowth that in epochs such as ours the ideological level of the movement is lowered and political thought thrown back stages long since ~~XXXXXX~~ gone through. He writes, 'Only fools will consider this defense of positions past won as sectarian. This task is the only means to prepare for the tremendous surge forward that will come with the coming historical tide. ...for these ideological positions are the dearly paid experience of the past. You know you must take out a subscription to the International Socialist Review, to Labor Review and the Militant first opportunity that you have. Unfortunately our little monthly cannot even hope to perform the job that is really required but fortunately the movement is truly international. We have a library here which is open to you. Tell us the subject, the problem, etc and we will see what we have

You will be having a ~~xxxx~~ phone call and a visitor I think shortly. A chap we met some years ago through the bookstore, at that time he was in the army, has been released and has moved out to Brandon. His name is Jerry MacKinney. It is unfortunate we did not get to know him better before he went out your way, and had a better political experience with him than we did, but he is a fine man. He was in the Korean war ~~xxx~~ was captured and had an excellent experience with the Chinese and North Koreans. He is a real militant and is fairly well acquainted with socialist ideas. Brandon is not far from you and so I suggested that he call around and see you. He could be of considerable help in whatever you think is possible to do these days in Winnipeg.

What do you think of the possibility of starting on a modest basis a more or less informal study circle. I am sure if you think about the matter you will be able to recall several persons who would be interested. Jerry lived in Winnipeg for several years I think--his folks are in Melita, and he probably knows a few people. Besides we did manage to pick up a few subscriptions to the paper when in Winnipeg. Many of them are just door to door subscriptions and it would indeed be fortunate, a lucky break if there was anyone amongst them who would be sufficiently interested at this time to come out to a discussion circle. But there are a few who we have good reason to think would be seriously interested--a circular letter to them--if there are many on the list we would be pleased to mimeograph your copy and send it back to you for mailing--might get us off the ground. I know Coleridge that you are out of town quite a bit but possibly you can commit yourself to some night. Anything we could do to help we would be more than pleased to do.

Not much news in the Toronto press about Winnipeg. But there have been several items about the dizzy attempts of the CCF to escape from having a provincial election brought on by the defeat of the Roblin government. If you come across anything that you think would be of interest to the Vanguard readers we would be pleased if you would send it in. Malcolm Bruce, one of the founders of the CP, and one of the ten sent down by the testimony of Sgt Ellswein and Section 98 is going to function as our Vancouver correspondent in future issues. He won't have much scope in the next one as we will be using it heavily for the Toronto elections but from then on in we hope to have something every issue.

When I was in Vancouver I went to see Fergus McKean who was LPP BC provincial leader up until about 1946 and he told me that it was now obvious to him that Trotskyism was the closest to orthodox marxism in his opinion. Malcolm has come all the way. He must now be almost 80 years but he is very vigorous and alert. When he broke from the LPP on their support of World War II he went into the CCF to meet the left there--that is where we found him. Right now he is taking on the task of writing up his experiences in the CP--very precious memories, full of lessons for the future, which he is about the only person who can write. When we can dig up the money we will publish Malcolm's reminiscences --possibly the odd one could usefully appear in the Vanguard from time to time. He was editor for the Worker for many years and is going to take on the job of seeing that we are supplied with material on important developments on the Coast. We could really do with a correspondent in Winnipeg--on whatever basis you feel you are able to contribute.

Incidentally we received a copy of that article you were referring to--about Peter Fryer and the New Revolutionaries. Ernie and I went through all the Winnipeg papers down at their offices without results. But a chap we met in Saskatoon happened to read it --it appeared in the Saskatoon Phoenix. Possibly it was published in other papers too. Quite interesting. Yes, the situation is more favorable than it has ever been since I got into the ~~xxx~~ struggle now almost 22 years ago, for the laying down of the foundations for a revolutionary socialist movement. Incidentally the man that the article starts off with --the man walking across the airport bound for Zurich--under the watchful eyes of Scotland Yard--is ~~xxxx~~ coming over here for a visit. We will be arranging something for him not at all mysterious--a public meeting on November 23rd.

Looking forward to hearing from you first opportunity you have

comradely

Ross Dowson

November 7, 1958

Saskatoon

Dear Phil *Hickert*

It was good to receive your short note and enclosure. We had heard about that article when we were in Winnipeg—I went out by train so couldn't see you and came back by truck the shortest and fastest route possible to beat the snow. But when in Winnipeg a chap named "Trotsky" Phillips told us about reading what was obviously the article you sent in. We searched through all the Winnipeg papers at their offices and could not locate it. Do you think that the western Canadian editors picked it up from the British News Chronicle after the little flurry we created across the West with our tour?

Wish I had more copies so that I could send you an even more important testimonial to the impact of our ideas and the disturbance we are causing both bosses and Buck these days. In the November 3 issue of the Canadian Tribune Buck devotes his entire article celebrating 41 years of the Russian revolution to an attack on the Trotskyists—revisionists. I would think that this is the first time that Trotskyism has had a headline in the Cdn Stalinist press since the late twenties. He warns all those who will still listen to him "It would be a serious mistake to allow the small number of the Trotskyite-revisionist cabal to be considered a reason to ignore their activity." He calls for a "militant ideological offensive...and energetic reply—a militant refutation.....etc. The tour was a great success. That did you think of the young revolutionary types we have picked up. Vancouver has opened up a bookstore. A regroupment forum has commenced there also. This "Trotsky" Phillips episode is interesting. He is a longtime socialist who independently away back in the twenties identified himself with the old man on the Chinese question. He is a Negro who looks somewhat like Trotsky and is a bit of a scholar. He hasn't been active ~~since~~ since the late twenties and told the comrades that until we came along he had just about given up hope. On the way back he tricked us into staying over for a long discussion with him and I think we have at last a man in Winnipeg, a most important guy, who is willing and able to carry on some work for us.

I cannot understand Phil how you are not getting or at least have not been getting your paper over the past two years. Your plate and everything is in good order. In fact from information on the card here you renewed it when the boys dropped in on you. I am therefore taking the liberty of ~~putting~~ placing the dollar that you have just sent in into our financial drive fund. We are out for two thousand dollars and we are going to need every sent we can garner together. We have been moving out very boldly—for now is the time not only to pick up what we can from the CP and uninitiated workers ranks but to change the relationship of forces with regards to ourselves and the LPP. The LPP is in a considerable crisis and any thing we can do now to further its situation will be all the better for the next upsurge. It is not just going to die—we have to dig its grave and deep to.

I would be pleased to hear from you any time you have a chance to write. Really appreciate the clipping and would appreciate anything else you think worthwhile to send along. I take it things are quiet in Saskatoon. I wouldn't mind something like that myself for a few months—right now we are in this Ernie Tate case, my brother Hugh is raising hell in the labor council over endorsement as an aldermanic candidate, and we are getting ready for the biggest municipal campaign we have yet conducted. We will be running four candidates—probably more than the LPP—the CCF never runs under its

Drop us a line anytime you are able. And how is Ben?

fraternally

569 Yonge Street
Toronto, Ont.
November 9, 1958

George Beckford
368 Notre Dame
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Dear Friend;

Yes, we certainly did get home--with a bang. No sooner had we arrived than the police accosted Ernie and whisked him off to jail. The Association for Civil Rights however got in behind the case--they consider it a very important case and from the lawyers comments are prepared to take it to the Ontario Supreme Court. There have been many friendly and interested enquiries--among them one from what appears to be a new organisation on the Toronto scene--a Canadian chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Ernie will be speaking to this group shortly.

Right now we are getting ready to enter into the Toronto municipal elections--the Tories have their way here pretty much with the CCF and trade union movement contesting just a few seats. We are going to give them a bit of a run with I think four candidates.

Both Ernie and I, and of course all those associated with us, would like to thank you very much for your warm and generous hospitality. It was indeed a heart warming experience to come across you and to receive your aid in our work. The tour met all our expectations. We feel we did a good job in the struggle for a socialist Canada. It seems that it did more than shake and disturb those who think that a system that threatens so many this winter with unemployment--it disturbed Tim Buck too. Do you see the odd issue of the Canadian Tribune? Buck wrote a big article (Nov 5) calling upon all those who will still listen to him to launch a vigorous campaign against what he calls the "Trotskyite-revisionist cabal." He devotes quite a section of his attack on the tour.

One of the highlights of the tour will always be remembered by me--the meeting up with a man who has circulated what is it--some twenty copies of Daniel Guerin's book NEGROES ON THE MARCH. I would certainly be pleased to hear from you from time to time--anytime I can do you a favor do not hesitate to call upon us.

fraternally

Koss Downson

569 Yonge Street
Toronto, Ont. Canada
November 10, 1958

Daniel Guerin

Dear Comrade Guerin;

This summer while on a national tour some comrades of mine came across a retired Negro unionist in the city of Winnipeg. Applying some pressure they were able to get him to purchase a copy of Negroes on the March. Within a matter of days he wrote into the center here to ask if it was possible to obtain more copies. I informed him that I would be pleased to obtain more copies on his behalf and in passing brought several other important writings on the Negro question to his attention, among them Frazer's Black Bourgeoisie, Williams' Capitalism and Slavery, The Strange Career of Jim Crow and a few Pioneer pamphlets.

He wrote back immediately asking for 12 copies. "I might add Mr Dowson," he wrote, "this book of Guerin's is the best I have read on the subject. Amongst the list of readings submitted I do have some of those mentioned."

Since then he has ordered another 10 or 12 copies and I have had the good fortune to meet him. He is a man in his seventies. For 12 years he acted as secretary treasurer for the Winnipeg Labor Council and has run as a CCF candidate in the federal elections. At present ~~maximum~~ since his pension is inadequate to sustain him he runs a rooming house. It caters only to railroad men--to Negro porters. They come in from either the Vancouver or the Montreal run and stay overnight there until they take their next train out. He has sold the 20 odd copies of your book to these Negro porters--no doubt the key, the most important Negro unionists in Canada.

I thought it would be a great source of satisfaction to you to know of the high esteem that your book has in ~~the~~ the eyes of this fine Negro militant, and to know to what effective use he has put it. Should you be able to find a few minutes to spare you might consider it worthwhile to drop him a short note. His name and address is;

George Beckford
368 Notre Dame Ave
Winnipeg 2, Manitoba
Canada.

I hope this note finds you in good health and at work on some new projects. Alas I have not yet sufficiently brushed up my French to read your two volume work on the French Revolution. I am living in hope that MacMillan will rectify this by coming out with an English translation they were talking about. Should you come to Canada and to Toronto again I would be happy to meet you again.

fraternally

Loss Dowson. 569 Yonge Street

Dear Comrades and Friends,

The Socialist Educational League Tour spent over 5 months travelling all the way from Windsor to Vancouver. The major part of the time was spent doing door to door subscription work with the SEL's paper the Workers' Vanguard and seeing politicals and trade unionists. The result was that thousands of people were seen. Hundreds of dollars worth of socialist books and pamphlets were sold. Over 1,700 subscriptions to the Vanguard were sold on the tour.

In this way a valuable network of socialist communication was constructed right across the country. The Vanguard can now be said to have a real national subscription base under it.

We of the SEL hope that this network of communication of socialist ideas will be utilized by all those socialists who are seriously interested in putting socialism on the map in Canada. The first task before all who are interested in creating a powerful socialist movement in Canada is to break down the isolation, hostility and distrust that exists between the already too small numbers of Canadian Socialists.

There are within the ranks of different political organizations such as the CCF, the LPP, the SEL, the Gagnon group in Montreal and the Rodney Young group in B.C. enough socialist forces to make the voice of socialism much more effectively heard than it now is being heard. If these forces would work together on basic issues; such as the fight against unemployment and war, this would be a big step towards making socialism a real force in Canada.

Already some important progress has been made towards this objective. The SEL and the Gagnon group have participated in activities together. The Rodney Young group has shown a friendly interest in this direction. Many CCFers and LPPers are also quite interested in the possibilities of united socialist action.

Many of the people who are most interested in such developments are those who fall into the ex-CCF and ex-LPP categories. These people are fed up with the betrayals of the CCF leadership and the crimes of Stalin. They are looking about for new possibilities of fighting for socialism. There are a considerable number of them. Over the years quite a few people have gone through a CCF or an LPP experience. It would not be an exaggeration to say that for every active socialist today in Canada there are 10 inactive ones.

The above areas indicate the material out of which a new socialist movement could have its beginnings. Under the name of "Socialist Regroupment" the process of building a new socialist movement is moving forward rapidly in such countries as England and the United States.

One of the finest examples of united socialist action took place recently in New York State. For the first time in many years a socialist slate was in the running despite the best efforts of the Tammany Hall Democratic political machine to keep it off the ballot. This slate of candidates and their many supporters brought the message of socialism to millions of Americans through leaflets,

Programs, in such diverse areas, and personal contact. This campaign, plus diverse areas as Washington State, California, Colorado, all made possible by "Socialist Regroupment".

What many forms different and to What concretely is "socialist regroupment"? It can take many forms but fundamental to all of them is a getting together of different socialists to exchange their ideas about common problems and to discuss past differences in the light of new experiences. These get-togethers can be any thing from an exchange of ideas between two people all the way to large forum meetings of several hundred people hearing different socialist speakers putting forward their different positions as to how to best advance the socialist cause. The meetings themselves can be sharp arguments or they may be surprisingly smooth with a large degree of agreement.

When socialist really get together honestly to exchange their ideas they find, as we found on the tour, that they have a lot in common and can reach agreement on many questions.

From everybody getting together and putting forth their ideas comes a flow of good ideas bad ones and those which have good and bad parts mixed up together. Collectively we can sort them out rejecting the bad ones and building a New Canadian Socialist program with the good ones.

The above of course is the end result of the process—a fully developed Socialist program that will be an accurate guide in the struggle for a socialist Canada.

Without such a correct program there can be no Socialist Canada, or even a serious attempt to get one. The betrayals of the CCF leadership and the Khrushchev revelations of Stalin's betrayals have indicated what wrong programs and outright deceit can do in destroying the socialist movement and those precious individuals who make up its organizations.

We are convinced and the experiences in the United States back us up, that it is possible for the great majority of Canadian Socialists to become united around at least a basic socialist program. This in turn can only be accomplished by the free exchange of ideas in forums, newspapers etc. which are open to all socialists and those interested in socialism. From such exchanges of ideas will come quick agreement on certain basic issues. Such as, say, the need to defend civil liberties and organize protests against H bomb testing etc.

This, of course, means that while we are arguing out our differences on other questions we can work together right now on basic issues which we have already agreed upon.

Open discussion of differences plus common united action on basic issues would do much to draw back the many inactive socialists into activity. These forums and actions would also have a great attractive force to the youth of Canada who today are hearing hardly anything about socialism except of course the junk in the capitalist press.

This, in brief, is what regroupment could do for the socialist movement in Canada.

On the tour we got a first rate picture of the impact of national and international events on the thinking of Canadians.

Unemployment is one of the biggest factors in their thinking. Everyone feels that capitalism can no longer stave off massive unemployment with its war preparations etc. Rising unemployment is rapidly sweeping away illusions that have been created about capitalism. It is already creating a new interest in socialism among many workers and students.

Among all Canadians there is a great fear of H bomb war. But it has not resulted in any militant anti-war struggles yet because most people feel that nothing can be done to prevent it.

All the socialists and many of the trade unionists we met on the tour are quite interested in the new labor party that will be appearing on the scene in the not too distant future. Many of them see the need for the socialists to get into this party on an organized basis and to begin the fight for socialist demands. They recognize the reactionary and treacherous role that the trade union brass will play in the leadership of this party.

Rising unemployment, the war danger and the coming of the labor party make the need for socialist regroupment greater than ever before. Socialist regroupment will give us the forces and the program to be able to boldly move forward and pose the socialist alternative-the only real alternative-to the historical bankruptcy of capitalism.

Right now is the time to start the regroupment process going. The columns of the Workers' Vanguard are open to all to express their views on this important subject. We of the Socialist Educational League are 100% in favor of putting socialism on the map in Canada and we would like to hear from all others who feel the same way. We hope to be seeing many of you again in 1959 when we will try to have another tour going.

Yours fraternally,

Jerry Houle,

Pat Brain,

Alan Harris,

Ernie Tate.

December 9, 1958

Elsa P.O. Yukon

Dear Bill;

You've not been forgotten away up there in the Arctic waste. As a matter of fact over the last few weeks I have been thinking of you more than anyone else in the great metropolises of Vancouver and Toronto. ...because I fell very bad that I have not up until now been able to answer your very simple request to send you ~~xxxxxxx~~ the tape I promised. First it is the machine--getting it down here from Paddy's, then it is getting the records together, then it is getting both the machine and the records in one place. This last stage has not been completed yet. We were able to distribute fifty thousand peices of literature, appear on TV twice, do a couple of colossal mailings, prpeare a report of the tour, arrange a conference and a thousand and one other things much more complex requiring oceans more energy but havent been able to get to that relatively small task as yet. But perhaps it was all these things that stood in the way of doing the simple important job for you.

But have no fear--I hope that you will have it by Christmas.

I have just shoved off in the mail a small parcel of recent material that you will find of interest. And here is how your account stands now

July 7 sub to ISR	1.50	paid Aug 2	15.00
Militant	3.50	Oct 30	16.00
see previous letter	30.10	Nov 19	15.00
list of R.R.	15.00		
Dec 9 shipment	.60		<u>46.00</u>

50.70 less 46.00 leaving outstanding

\$4.70

I met comrade Healy of England just a few weeks ago--he was over here for a conference. He told me that he would send us the Italian address so I could get you their paper but we dont have it yet. Now I gather from the accounting I have just typed up that you dont get the Newsletter which is our British weekly nor the Labor Review which is their every other month theoretical journal. I find the pacel was not mailed yesterday so I have opened it in roder to enclose a copy of the Newsletter and the Labor Review. You will search for a sub rate in vein. Just work out what would seem reasonable at their marked up price less 25% and send it on. Sorry I cannot send you the latest issue of the Newsletter with all the data on the conference but the Militant reported it fairly well as will the next Vanguard--we are sold out. The theoretical standard set by Labor Review is very high dont you think?

Now as for those books Bill---the small Kerr titles that you are missin, I havent been able to get into digging through the tour material as yet and the information is buried in there somewhere---if it is not much troubel for you it would expedite things if you have a tally you could send along.

We have just cleared away all the election work--although the detailed breakdown has just come in and a couple of the comrades are doing some

Statistical work . It was a big job--the biggest we have done yet. It would appear to me that we have established the SEL, the Trotskyists as the most dynamic force for socialism in the Toronto area. We had two special leaflets for our three aldermanic candidates, then we had to give backbone to Hugh's campaign sponsored by the DeHavilland local. You know they talk those guys but they don't do any work. It was an excellent experience for Hugh. Perhaps the biggest lick we got in was about 4 to 5 minutes on TV as the election returns were just coming in and a few minutes before the 11 o'clock news broadcast. I managed to jerry a couple of questions they flung at me while before the cameras and turn them into something useful for socialism. While we ran four candidates and then Hugh too, the LPP ran five. But ours were much more effective, their program was just a localized reformist program. They called a meeting for one of their candidates--ward 6 aldermanic--our Len Sutherland and I went to it and took the LPP membership out from under them. Ryerson and all the rest were there to see it too--all done up in a positive fraternal way.

We distributed the last issue folded reverse with the material on Buck's attack against us to their Trinity by-election rally a few nights ago--there were many refusals but no real hostility. About 180 turned up to what I would think was a city wide meeting. Both their candidate Sam Walsh and Tim Buck spoke.

The ~~xxxx~~ December issue is right now on the boards and we have this INCO strike to see what we can do. The labor movement is dragging its feet on the question of the INCO strike. Oh they have made the record but they haven't really got behind it. Possibly the best demonstration of solidarity is from the UAW which has taxed itself the usual amount that it taxes all local treasuries when a UAW local is on the picket lines. But more drastic action is of course needed. ~~Thompson is taxing his own~~ ~~union to the limit of its resources~~ although this would appear to be as much as most Mine Mill locals have themselves done for Sudbury. The press is carrying on an all-out campaign--right now a new vote of the strikers We had a lengthy discussion last night at the branch meeting on the strike. We are going to try to press the labor council to call a mass meeting in support of the INCO strikers---a mass motorcade onto Sudbury such as was done with Murdochville. We will be taking collection sheets through the plants where we have comrades. Some of the LPP clubs appear to be collecting food and clothing for Sudbury. We are going to assess the situation with each one of us to see if it is feasible for us to collect clothing and send out an appeal--one of the comrades suggests if it is that we put an ad in the paper that our truck is heading for Sudbury on so and so date with whatever people can give us added to our contribution. Of course we are poor people and our real job as a vanguard force is to attempt to press the organized labor movement in the direction of such actions--not substitute ourselves on our pitiful capacities.

Hope you can spare a few buck on the financial drive. I shot the works of your last M.O. on the book bill as you can see. Vancouver has done the best yet on the drive. I think we will make it although we have a considerable number of comrades unemployed. But we have fallen down on outside points.

Paddy sends you his regards. "ight now he is entertaining his brother his brother from the US. You never thought of him as a family man eh. I see Angus has sent him in a copy of the Norris cartoon book.

Gots to write from this end but I must ~~drapx~~ get away on some other pressing matters. Will you be going home for Chrstimes? Give my regards to all your family--it was an enjoyable experience to meet them all last summer.

Warmest regards

December 15, 1958

Dear Barry and Shirley

Martin dropped into the store the other day and I was suprised to learn from him that you had pulled up stakes and headed into the Niagara fronteir. Is this just a temporary move? And how are you doing there? I must admit that over the past years are paths havent crossed much, primerily due to me--although I was always glad to know that whenever you desired to youn could always be sure to find me at 569. It has come as a sort of suprise now to hear that you have shifted out of the Toronto orbit.

And what are you thinking these days of ~~Paxamark~~ the brutal suppression of Pasternak and the devaloping economic crisis in the capitalist world?

I suppose you must have come across something on our mlection campaign of this year? We ran four candidates besides getting behind you who ran as a labor candidate with the backing of his UAW localXX Did you see us on TV as the returns came in. Got another TV spot but havent met anyone who swa it--maybe they didn't use it --ut was a three minute interview-not live-- during which they asked me two rotten questions. I had a mind to refuse when I had a preview idea of the questions but figured that would be used as much against us as the answers

Do you get into Buffalo? Had the gang up here to meet our leading British comrade. There was an important conference her with him, JPC, Warde, Hensen and Dobbs. Things are moving in Britain. We have what is comparable to the Knondstadt sailors around us and at the other pole have attracted some top flight intellectuals from the BR CP.

But now that I am unable to call on you or find you in attendance at a close by social I must get to the indidental reason for this letter and its immediatel inspiration. H w about sending us some dough. Our drive is coming to a close and we have discovered lots of ways to spend money on a worthwhile basis. We have been recruting but the comrades are young opening up new avenues of activity but not fund raising. For instance we have three comrades in General Steelwares--two of them are on the PAC, all three are delegates to the Toronto Labor Council but now every last one of them is laid off for being young they have no seniority. So you old timers will have to come across.

Dont just drop us a cheque--enclose a few cords or better still be sure to come around ~~us~~ to see us first time you are in the city. Here is a poem that might interest you. This fellow is a recent defector from the LPP in Montreal. He feels very close to us and is contributing poems to the paper. Unfortunately I feel that they are not just ehay what we want in a workers paper.

warmest regards

Ross

December 30, 1958

Milton Acorn
Montreal

Dear Comrade Acorn;

Sorry not to have written you sooner ~~xxx~~ to thank you for the poems that you submitted for publication in the Vanguard. Yes, I do know that you are what you called an "acknowledged poet, if it were a matter of just my own judgement and of course no one should rely on his own judgement, particularly when it comes to art forms with which he is not fully acquainted

I am glad to read that you want your poems to do good and would be proud to have them appear in the Vanguard. We are proud that you submitted them to us. But their none publication was not just my own doing and I must say was not ~~xxxxx~~ based on ~~xxxxx~~ our opinion of their artistic merit in the broad meaning of the word.

A big problem with our paper is our lack of space. Our editorial meetings are quite laughable. We always end up with projected material which would fill two and three issues--so we have to boil, condense and eliminate. Space is at a high premium. Your poems are really quite long. For instance ITS TOO MUCH would take up between $\frac{1}{2}$ and one third of a page in our tiny four page paper. That is a great deal of space. You see our column is quite narrow and it would have to be set in $\frac{1}{2}$ column width and it is 47 lines plus a head.

Since our paper is directed to a fairly narrow section of advanced workers who look to it for political guidance I find it hard to justify spending a great deal of space except under ~~xxxxxxx~~ dire necessity. I am all for poetry appearing in the paper. It is an important medium of expression. But on top of the length, there is the matter of content. I feel justified in raising this matter and not from the point of censorship for we are not a literary journal but a political instrument. From the point of view of content, while I am in complete agreement with them I feel that both of the submitted poems are somewhat thin for our paper. Possibly the Forum would consider them thick. But the ideas are fairly simple even though cleverly presented, I think you will agree

While I would be far from attempting to impose this next opinion on the paper with regards to poetry I would think that it would be an excellent contribution to the working class of Canada if you were to try your hand at writing poetry which workers would pick up and learn, would circulate around the shop, recite at social affairs, seek to have republished in shop papers etc. My own impression is that neither of your latest contributions meet this bill, they are too clever, the rhythms are not simple enough. We need a Posada of Canadian poetry--Rivera conquered this

problem

As I see it a political paper is not a medium of personal, of artistic expression--although all that goes into it should be competently written. Everything must be shaped to the purposes of communication. And of course this doesn't mean vulgarization. A case can be made that communication in the day of atomic energy, TV requires new forms. But the Vanguard must leave to other mediums the task of testing out and pioneering these problems. We are writing for workers, upon whom in these fields tradition weighs heavily, who have made Robert Service ~~Canada's~~ their most popular poet, ~~xxx~~ the best of whom sing the rhymes of Joe Hill and Ralph Chaplin

Found your comments on Joe Wallace and Pasternak very interesting. I notice that the latest Joe Wallace book available in the Russian language is reported to have been translated by someone else. And so how does Wallace stand with the LPP these days.

Looking forward to hearing from your lyre again.

sincerely

Ross Dowson

1958- Dec31

CANADIAN STALINISM IN SHAMBLES

(International Socialist Review, S.W.P., New York, Winter 1958)

When Khrushchev dumped the Stalin cult, the effect on the most backward Communist Party “outside of Albania” was devastating

By Ross Dowson

A RECENT issue of the Canadian Tribune, organ of the Canadian Communists, reproduced a photograph of a mass meeting in the Toronto Maple Leaf Gardens. The date

— 1943. Tim Buck, national leader of the Communist party, which had just been renamed the Labor Progressive Party, speaks to an audience of 17,000. Buck on the same platform as Canada’s Prime Minister William Lyon MacKenzie King, Ontario’s Premier Mitchell Hepburn, and other notables. The Labor Progressive Party basking in the bourgeois hosannas to Stalin, in the Russian workers’ victorious repulse of the German imperialist invasion. The LPP just fresh from its campaign to line up French Canada behind a YES vote for conscription, winned and dined for its attempts to wheedle a no-strike pledge from Canadian labor. Two members in the Ontario legislature, one in Manitoba, a member in the Federal House, representatives in city and town councils across the country. A national membership of 25,000. Plans underway to convert its twelve-page weekly Canadian Tribune into a daily.

Today^ The Liberal J. Pickersgill, to whom the times have not been overly kind, the Tory June 10 electoral sweep having cast him down from Minister of Citizenship and Immigration to a mere Member of Parliament, recently made the cruel thrust: “The LPP could hold a national convention in a telephone booth — if it had a dime.”

Today almost the entire leadership, but for Buck, has decamped. Membership is down around the 2,000 mark. There is almost no public activity. One member in the Manitoba legislature. Cleaned out of Toronto municipal office. Clubs, whole districts, wiped out. The Quebec section, once the pride and joy of the party, cut down to a couple of handfuls in uneasy alliance with one another. Finances dried up. The staff pared to the bone. The youth movement and paper defunct. Peripheral bodies decimated and torn away. The party down to the hard core of aging Finnish-Ukrainian language groups. The centers sustained by stripping the extremities. The Canadian Tribune, a weekly, down to eight pages. Just over 900 subscribers a year ago in the key Ontario area — certainly less today. In Toronto a recent meeting, publicized on the front page of the Tribune, drew an audience of thirty. A public gathering appealing to the youth was so small that it adjourned without hearing the speaker. Demoralization, loss of confidence everywhere.

The cold war launched by the ungrateful Premier W. L. M. King with spy charges against LPP Member of Parliament Fred Rose, the witch hunt, the persecution of LPP members, the expulsion of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and United Electrical unions from the main stream of the labor movement, took a heavy toll. But at the same time it hardened the cadre.

Today it is the cadre who are leaving the party in droves, its longtime leading spokesmen, the forces that were its financial backbone, the sub-getters, pamphlet-sellers.

Not the cold war, not the arms-fed economic boom, nothing that has in any way to do with either the ebb or flow of the class struggle within this continent is the cause of the LPP debacle. Nikita Khrushchev, to whom the skeleton leadership of the LPP now bows in cultish worship, struck the blow in his speech at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union in February 1956. More accurately it is the movement of the workers in the Soviet zone to rid themselves of the bureaucratic incubus, it is Poland's October, the Hungarian Workers' Councils, and their repercussions in the ranks of the bureaucracy, the downgrading of Molotov, Kaganovitch and now Zhukov, that are tearing into the Labor Progressive Party, threatening to leave not one stone upon another.

The Twentieth Congress and its aftermath struck body blows at the Communist parties across the globe; but none have been so staggered, none have been so severely crippled as the LPP. J.B. Salsberg, now a leading dissident but long-time LPP National Trade Union Director and member of the Ontario legislature, has characterized the Canadian Stalinist movement as the most backward outside of Albania. It would certainly seem to be the most rigidly machine-controlled. On top of the stultifying effect of the international cult of Stalin it has suffered the stultifying effect of the national cult of Tim Buck.

While other CPs, in their wild gyrations to the tunes of the Kremlin flung aside compromised figureheads, disposed of spokesmen whose suppleness had some limitations. Buck has whirled through them all. Buck has headed the LPP since 1930 when he ousted the party's founding National Secretary Jack MacDonald who then joined forces with the leading theoretician Maurice Spector, expelled two years previously for supporting Trotsky in his struggle against Stalinist revisionism.

In the intervening twenty-six years Buck built a tight machine composed of toadies, sycophants, and persons totally miseducated in the principles of Leninist politics and democratic centralism. These twenty-six years saw no development of opposition tendencies or contending forces in the LPP — a monolithic party par excellence. Whatever differences developed, if in the ranks, were brutally settled by ukase, usually slander and expulsion; if in the top bodies, were closeted tip and settled there in the same way. Twenty-six years of hand-raising and toeing line left the party ill-prepared to react to the Khrushchev revelations — the secondary leaders to think things out for themselves and give voice to ideas; the ranks to overcome the shock, the deep paralysis at discovery of their deception.

Although the Khrushchev revelations of Stalin's crimes hit the LPP hard, they never did open up any real discussion in the party. With Buck away in Moscow attending the Twentieth Congress, the caretaker leadership was struck dumb. For weeks, while members read the astonishing developments in the daily press, the leadership had nothing to say. Finally one month later, the March 26 Tribune broke silence by reproducing without comment an article by the London Daily Worker's Moscow correspondent which confirmed in broad outline the essence of Khrushchev's report. Then on April 2 National Organizer Leslie Morris commented: "While it is

of enormous interest to the people of all countries, the present discussion is primarily the domestic affair of the Soviet people.” The ranks were advised to wait for Tim Buck.

On his return, Buck, without so much as batting an eye, joined the anti-Stalin chorus replacing Stalin, the once-infallible, with Khrushchev, the now-infallible. Not until May 14 was any rank-and-file voice heard in the “letters to the editor” column, but by then the ranks had already spoken up in a most tangible way. The editor, in a special June 4 appeal, reported that “Less than a third of the \$25,000 we need has so far come in. This is new in our experience. Never before in our 16 years have we been so far behind at the end of a campaign.” From then on large sections of the party followed the discussion from the outside.

On October 15 six leading staff members of the Quebec Provincial Committee of the Labor Progressive party, including the provincial leader and the editor of the French press, four of them National Committee members, announced their resignation. In large part their statement was a recital of how Buck and his toadies attempted to curtail and minimize the discussion. It told how, on Buck's recommendation, the NEC automatically endorsed the CPSU statement and how Buck in the pages of National Affairs Monthly, publicly repudiated criticisms in a previous NEC statement which had suggested the inadequacy of Khrushchev's explanations of the crimes and the responsibility of the CPSU itself.

Quebec provincial leader Caron revealed that only two persons on the NEC voted for a proposal that the LPP state publicly “that some leaders of the CPSU have a certain negative attitude to the Jewish people which is inconsistent with socialist democracy and which we are confident will be corrected.” The six concluded their statement — a sound moral and political basis for the continuation of the struggle for socialism in Canada cannot be reconstructed within the framework of the LPP.” By December 1 over 200 Quebec members drew the same conclusion.

A letter to the December National Committee meeting from J.B. Salsberg, Harry Binder and Stewart Smith, all three top leaders of the party for three decades, gave little insight into the political problems confronting the LPP ranks but more insight into the workings of the Buck machine. Back at a May plenum, Buck had stated that he had not seen the Khrushchev report although the truth was that he had. Under the personality cult around comrade Buck the other NEC members were expected and did, in fact, remain silent although several criticized him in the NEC. On October 12, 1956 the old NEC in a burst of independence cabled the CPSU and the Polish Workers party calling for a policy of nonintervention by the CPSU in the affairs of the Polish Workers party. At the following meeting of the National Committee on October 28, Buck demanded the election of a new NEC that would give him unqualified support, with the statement that he would “never again sit and listen” to the type of criticism he had been compelled to hear in the NEC, and with a slanderous attack on his opponents as supporters of “peoples capitalism.”

As Chairman of the Program Commission, Buck called no meeting and no draft political resolution was presented to the National Committee, called ostensibly to define political positions. The elections, for or against Tim Buck, were to Harry Binder final proof that the

national committee majority had no intention of permitting free and unfettered debate in the party.”

With the elimination of the opposition from the NEC, the October 12 cable in defense of the Polish struggle, which Buck and his supporters had voted for, was repudiated. On the tenth day Buck introduced a statement designed to force the opposition out of the party. It was so extreme that no one on the committee would move or second its adoption.

By now the ranks of the LPP, those who had remained in the party, were confronted by two tendencies. The Salsberg faction declared that “there are two lines and two policies before the party” which “cannot be reconciled. Because the question of an independent Canadian Marxist-Leninist party versus one that is subservient to the CPSU is one of principle.”

However, both factions proved to be in agreement on all the key political issues of the day. This shifted the question of independence or subservience, which Buck of course did not for one moment grant Salsberg, into the realm of an abstraction. Both factions were in agreement on the Stalinist theory of “peaceful coexistence” and on the concept of the bourgeois parliamentary path to socialism; both supported the UN. Despite its ridicule of the Buck faction for its rehash of Pravda editorials on Hungary, the Salsberg faction did not even take an independent stand in support of the Hungarian struggle for workers democracy. Buck rallied support because the Salsberg tendency contained within it forces who were openly abandoning what Buck long ago abandoned but continues to give lip service to — Marxism-Leninism and the concept of the Leninist party.

The results of the National Convention were a foregone conclusion. The Buck supporters took all Toronto’s thirty-six delegates — the minority were cut down to twenty out of a total of 170. The feeble Salsberg resolution, calling for a get-together of Kadar and Nagy to discuss common problems and present facts on what happened in Hungary, was shoved off the floor to the incoming National Committee. Also shuffled off was a resolution protesting that no visible steps toward the full restoration of the rights of Soviet Jews had as yet been taken by the Soviet CP.

On May 16 Salsberg, Smith, Binder and Lipshitz announced their resignation from the LPP. In their statement they declared that “the historically necessary task of regroupment of socialist forces in this country has to be undertaken. This is not an organizational task in the first place but a political one, an educational one.” New paths must be found, new alliances formed “to speed the process of healing the splits of the past.”

Seven months have slipped by, the LPP has suffered further defections, the most notable being that of long-time leader Charles Sims. Under the unending crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy, the continued purges at the top, the exposure of the myth of “rule by law” and “collective leadership,” the LPP knows no peace.

And what of the opposition to Buck? Caron concluded the Quebec leadership’s statement of resignation with the comment, “I wish to spend a period of time restudying.” Nothing more has been heard from the Quebec area. A select group of thirty to forty Salsberg supporters held two

meetings earlier this year where informal plans were discussed to issue a publication, “non-partisan, non-party and broadly progressive,” possibly this fall.

Salsberg himself has enunciated his views in several articles in the Toronto daily press and at a socialist forum. While his article on Hungary could scarcely be said to mark a step further in a revolutionary socialist direction, it did not signify a retrogression as has been common with many ex-Stalinists. It established that the struggle was of a working-class character and in the direction of democratic socialism. His article on disarmament warmed over the traditional petty-bourgeois line promoted by Buck that Canada faces a challenge to its national greatness — as leader of the bloc of middle powers. Salsberg even-handedly balances “mistakes” on the part of both major contending powers and modestly chastises the Diefenbaker government for not providing adequate leadership.

The forces that are potentially available for revolutionary-socialist regroupment are for the most part at present outside all existing formations. The LPP, the greatest single barrier to the building of the party of Canadian revolutionary socialism, has suffered a debacle. It has not been removed but it has been tremendously weakened. Further developments will no doubt shake loose what valuable human material is still holding onto the LPP because of the lack of what appears to be a viable alternative.

Hundreds of workers in the LPP at the time of the Twentieth Congress who walked away, repelled by Bucks “business as usual,” “now follow Khrushchev” line were left cold by his opponents’ confinement of the struggle to the top echelons and their failure to project a new course. There are hundreds more who passed through the LPP over the years and whose experiences have taken on new meaning for them, as a consequence of the Khrushchev revelations and recent developments in the LPP. Great possibilities are opening up.

The Salsberg group has an opportunity to play a catalyzing role in the process. This would be a most favorable outcome. But will it do so? Must we await a turn in the class struggle to bring forward a new, more dynamic leadership?

These are among the important questions Canada’s socialist forces are now discussing. It is too early to determine what the answers will be. Nevertheless, no matter what happens next, the history books will put down the debacle of Canadian Stalinism as a big step forward in the reconstitution of the revolutionary-socialist movement.

(end)

(no date)

December 1954

569 Yonge Street
Toronto, Ont.

To the editor of the Toronto Evening Telegram
for publication

Dear Sir;

In his address to the Ontario Municipal Association as reported in your December 11th edition Ontario's Premier Leslie Frost stated that "so far as I know not one candidate (in the recent Toronto municipal election) advocated public ownership of Consumers' Gas Company."

Mr Frost did not say not one candidate that he approved of or ~~thought~~ he considered to be what has become labelled as "a serious candidate". He made what he thought to be a simple statement of fact--that no candidate did urge municipal ownership of gas distribution in the Toronto area. Premier Frost and all those who read his statement in your paper should be disabused of their mistaken impression.

All four candidates sponsored by the Socialist Educational League Ross Dowson for Board of Control and Peter Metheus, Joseph Rosenblatt and Kenneth Sutherland for aldermen in Wards 1 and 6 advocated public ownership of Consumers Gas. I had occasion to note from leaflets distributed on their behalf that not only did the SEL urge such action but so did Hugh Dowson, Local 112 UAW sponsored aldermanic candidate in Ward 1 and George Jackson Labor Progressive Party sponsored aldermanic candidate in Ward 6. Not one but at least six candidates urged that such action be supported by the electorate.

sincerely

Ross Dowson

Make Toronto a union town. For an administration that sets the pace in good relations with its employees and does not ape and em-boldden anti-labor corporations by threatening the fire fighters with the courts and the civic employees with scabs and compulsory arbitration. Vote the labor slate across the city.

Protest the arrogance of the Toronto police, their infringements on the rights of citizens, their high-handed assumption of the authority of the courts. Protest the harsh treatment and stringent sentences handed down by the courts, particularly against non-English speaking citizens.

MEET THE CANDIDATES

JOE ROSENBLATT

Twenty-five-year-old Joe Rosenblatt has been active in the labor and socialist movement since his high school days. He played an active part in the campaign petitioning city council not to knuckle under to real estate interests and remove the last of the rent controls. When the council failed to see to it that anti-discrimination by-laws were enforced, he helped to mobilize the picket line around the Palais Royal dance hall protesting racial discrimination there.

He is a member of Local 1111 of the United Steelworkers Union at General Steelwares.

PETER METHEUS

A resident in Ward 1 at 203 Victor Avenue, Peter Methews works at General Steelwares. He is an active member of his union Local 1111, United Steelworkers of America (CLC), holding a position on the local's Political Action Committee and representing the local on the Toronto and District Labor Council and the area council of the Steelworkers union.

Peter Methews is a member of the CCF in the St. Paul's constituency and was a delegate to both recent provincial and national conventions of the CCF. In his 27 years Peter Methews has had considerable experience representing his fellow workers and is fully qualified to do a good job on city council as Alderman for Ward 1.

Ward 1's labor aldermanic candidates will be pleased to meet you at a social evening on

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 29 - AT 8 P.M.
ODDFELLOWS HALL, 125 BROADVIEW AVE.

Ross Dowson for Board of Control and Ken Sutherland for Alderman in Ward 6, both sponsored by the Socialist Educational League, will also be there.

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Vote LABOR
Vote SOCIALIST

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PETER METHEUS

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JOE ROSENBLATT

WARD 1
ALDERMEN

Vote the Labor Ticket

What's At Stake?

Toronto, and every one of its nine wards, is an integral part of Canada and of the world. What is happening in this world and what is the impact on each one of us?

A few months ago, the Tory deputy minister of defence stated that Canada's armed forces were in a state of "universal readiness," due to the situation in the Middle East. The **Toronto Star** editors wrote "the peace of the world at this moment hangs on a slender and unreliable thread." Last month it was the Far East. "All the elements of a Third World War are involved," the situation "represents the greatest threat to peace since the Second World War," said Liberal Leader Pearson.

We were told last winter's unemployment, the most widespread since the depression years, would melt away with the Spring. But the economy never really got out of the sag. Common opinion is that Canada this coming winter will suffer massive unemployment — well over a million.

Not completely blind and deaf to the dangers thundering all around them, the Tory-Liberal administration and its hangers-on, as they drone on about parking lots and make deals over the breaking of the zoning by-laws, have conceded that these matters are of some importance to Torontonians.

Their Answer . . .

They have announced a winter work plan. It will provide a mere 2,048 men employment for just 20 weeks. To meet the threat of a guided missile H Bomb war, which will blast all their little plans and the entire city into oblivion, they are spending funds and exhorting action in civil defence. But there is no defence. Toronto would be lucky to have 12 minutes warning, says the inventor of radar.

They have no program to meet the real problems that are coming to a head. Their vision is blocked by their acceptance of the fundamental, existing state of affairs — capitalism — a society which has war and depression embedded right into it.

What is required is a program that expresses, that defends and advances, the real needs and aspirations of the people. The Socialist Educational League presents such a program. It envisions a new world—a society of peace and freedom, a society of co-operative labor, not for profit but for humanity. Vote for this program by voting for the SEL-sponsored candidates.

Vote Yes on the plebiscite to extend the franchise. Eliminate the restriction to British subjects and the bar from voting on money by-laws and for the Board of Education. End the multiple vote. For amalgamation, an elected Metro mayor, and representation by population.

More subsidized low-cost, low-rental housing.

Get on with the Moss and Alexander Park projects. Enforce the building and health by-laws. Seize the properties of uncooperative landlords and charge the repairs on their tax bills. Extend the city's low interest bearing, long-term loans for small homeowners. End the domination of civic government by vested property interests.

Block evictions and repossessions

of the household goods of workers who have used up their unemployment insurance benefits, with city emergency funds. For the maintenance of the Psychiatric Clinic of the Juvenile Court until such times as Metro or the province will sustain it. For the return of the pitiful increases that Metro and City Welfare committees so callously confiscated from the old age pensioners under their care.

Mobilize the citizens of Toronto to press the provincial and federal governments to: (1) legislate a moratorium on debt, (2) shorten the legal work-week from 48 hours to 40 and downward with the same take-home pay, thus providing jobs for thousands, (3) extend unemployment insurance for the full period of unemployment, (4) launch a vast program of construction of schools, hospitals, etc., (5) recognize China and promote trade with all who wish Canadian goods.

Tax the wealthy corporations, not the small homeowners. Remove the Metro area properties assessed at 300 million dollars from the tax exempt list. Tax private schools, Legion Halls, church properties, hospitals, etc. Let subsidies to worthy organizations be decided upon openly and above board, not by backdoor deals or on the basis of the value of property holdings. Block all attempts to eliminate the graduated tax exemption on owner-occupied homes and to impose a further tax burden on homeowners compelled to sublet flats.

For municipal ownership of Consumers Gas

and gas distribution at cost. No tribute to the stock manipulators and racketeers who were handed the Trans-Canada pipeline by Liberal St. Laurent and Tory Frost. Open the meetings and open the books of all the publicly-owned commissions. End the domination of the commissions by defeated candidates and friends of the administration; for workers' control of T.T.C.